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PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

VOL. V.

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Engraved by H. Robinson.

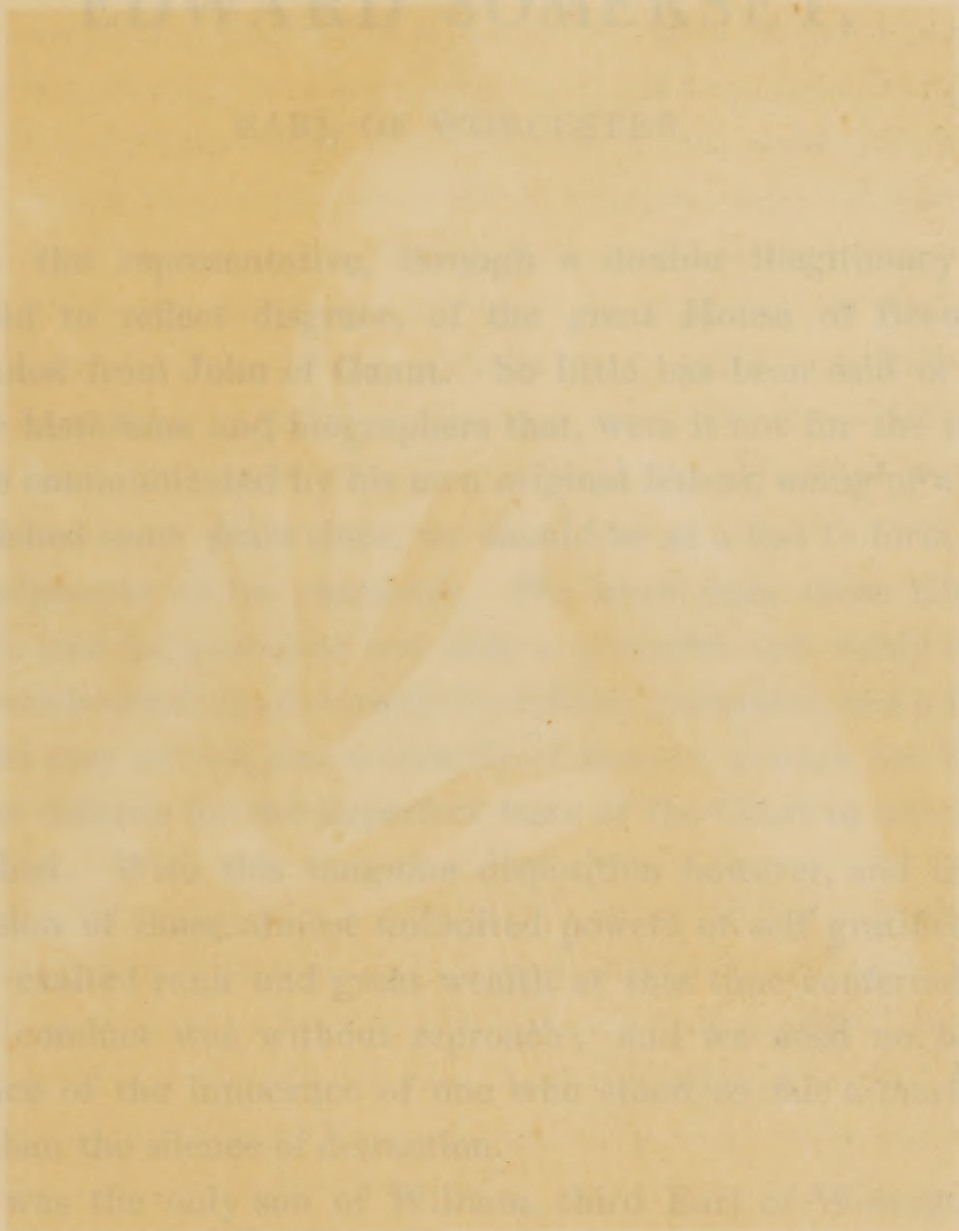
EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER.

OB. 1627.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

London, Published Apr.^l 1834 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



EDWARD SOMERSET,

EARL OF WORCESTER,

Was the representative, through a double illegitimacy too splendid to reflect disgrace, of the great House of Beaufort, descended from John of Gaunt. So little has been said of him by our historians and biographers that, were it not for the intelligence communicated by his own original letters, many of which I published some years since, we should be at a loss to form any just judgement of his character. We learn from those faithful records that he possessed not only a powerful and richly cultivated understanding, decorated by infinite politeness, but a familiar and easy nature, and a vivacity of temper, at once too frank and too delicate for the imperfect taste of the Court in which he flourished. With this sanguine disposition however, and in the possession of those almost unlimited powers of self gratification which exalted rank and great wealth at that time conferred, his moral conduct was without reproach; and we need no better evidence of the innocence of one who stood so fair a mark for envy than the silence of detraction.

He was the only son of William, third Earl of Worcester of the Somersets, by Christian, daughter to Edward first Lord North. The date of his birth has been variously reported. The inquisition taken on his father's death, in 1589, declares him to have been at that time of the age of thirty-six, and upwards, meaning, as it may be presumed, that he was then in his thirty-seventh year: but this is contradicted by the statement on his tomb of his age at the time of his death. If we are to rely on the first of those authorities, he was born in 1553: if on the latter, in 1544. He came into public life later than common, owing probably to

the unusually protracted term of his father's existence, who reached the age of ninety-seven; but he entered it perfectly accomplished. "In his youth," says Sir Robert Naunton, "part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times." Elizabeth, who never undervalued such qualifications, had however been prepossessed in his favour by one of her strongest affections—he was of her consanguinity; for his ancestor Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, was brother to the maternal grandfather of Henry the seventh. On the other hand, his religious faith exposed him to contrary prejudices, for he was a steady Roman Catholic. "Although," again says Naunton, "there might appear something in his House which might avert her grace (though not to speak of my Lord himself but with due reverence and honour) I mean contrariety, or suspicion, in religion, yet the Queen ever respected this House, and principally this noble Lord:" and Lloyd, with an agreeable quaintness, tells us that "his mistress excused his faith, which was Popish, and honoured his faithfulness, which was Roman;" and adds that "it was her usual speech that my Lord of Worcester had reconciled what she thought inconsistent, a stiff Papist to a good subject." She called him to her Privy Council; sent him in 1591 Ambassador to Scotland, to congratulate the King on his marriage with Anne of Denmark; and in 1601 appointed him Master of the Horse.

James continued him in that dignified office, and it is highly probable that he would have appeared publicly in the envied and unstable character of favourite but for his own prudent forbearance. To a judgement in public affairs not less sober than acute he joined the strictest integrity, and the closest application; but, above all, he alone, in the whole circle of that Prince's servants, either in the Cabinet or the Court, seems to have possessed equally the means and the inclination of administering to the comforts of his master. He not only led the chase with vigour,

graced and animated the ball by his elegance and activity, and enlivened the King's more private parties by the good sense and good humour of his conversation, but he appears to have managed during James's long and frequent intervals of absence from his capital the most part of that Prince's confidential correspondence with his ministers. To support and illustrate the view which I have here ventured to take of many features of his character, I will insert two of his letters; the first, to the Privy Council, in the grave spirit of ministerial communication; the second, to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, written with the unreserved familiarity of private friendship, and the lively and careless jocoseness of an accomplished courtier.

"It may please youer LL. to be advertesed, youer letters to mee directed, signifying the great comfort youe have taken in that w^{ch} I wrote of his Ma'. gratious acceptation of youer payns in his service during the tyme of his absence, I thought best to present to his Ma. owne vewe; the rather bycawse I cowld not by my speeche take uppon mee to express so lively as youer own style dothe represent the hartines and zeale wherewth youe signifie youer inward contentment: and if I thought myself not able to expresse youer conceyts to him, much less am I to retorne his to youe wth ayny language that may sufficiently represent a true image of his noble and princely hert towards youe in the gratious construction he maks of all youer proceedings. May it therefore suffice youer LL. the rather that yt pleasethe his Ma. to affirm that he accownts a great part of his hapyness to consist in youer loyaltees, wysdoms, and paynfull service, wherin he would willingly beare his part, and by his presence amongst youe make his own and your comfort the greater, yf his healthe did not necessarily requier thes recreations; w^{ch}, notwithstanding, he wyll readyly leave, whensoever any advertesment from youer LL. shall signify that there is cawse. In the mean tyme, as he easethe himselfe in your travayles, so

dothe hee wyshe youe to take an assured comfort in his gratious acceptance of them.

And now, my honorable LL. geve me leave not onely wth comfort to take notice of your honorable acceptance of my poor endevors, but wth humble thanks to acknowledge the increase of my bond of duty and affection towards youe. Notwithstanding I knowe they have been accompanied wth many errors, and more imperfections, yet suche are youer honorable dispositions as not onely to conceale and shaddow them, but to make a favorable interpretation of that w^{ch} many ways deserved reprehension; but my zeal to his Ma'. service, and dutiful endevors to gyve youer LL. satisfaction, shall plead for a qualification of the veniall faults of,

Youer LL.' humbly to command,

Thetford, the 1 of March, 1604. E. Worcester."

"I have lately receyved 2 letters from youer good Lo. wherein youe have not onely requited my former wth kind thankfulness, but satisfied in number of lynes to the full, so y^{t} there is lytell expectation that youe will bee in my dett. Truly whensoever I wrote youe a short letter yt was eyther for want of matter, or hastye opportunitye of the messenger, which being lothe to lett pass, chose rather to wryght a littell then nothing at all. Agayn, mayny times wee may have newes of some accydent or other, and before I shall understand of a convenyent messenger my news wylbee stale, and then I omytt it. Lastly, urgent busynes of my own (being subject to howerly attendance, as youe knowe) cawsethe me often, thowgh unwyllingly, to neglect opportunitee; and so de hac re satis dictu˜ est.

Nowe, my good Lord, to awnswer youer last desier; yt is verye certeyn that his Ma. hath resolved that the Parlament shall begyn the 19 of Marche, and that he will shortly remove to Whithall, but goethe to Royston to hunt, while in the meane space the Queen may remove, and the howsowld, and himself to retorn thether: from thence to the Tower the 12 of March; the 15 to

pass thorowgh London to Whithall, wthowt ayny feast at all; and this is more then certenly cold bee told you, for this day yt was decreed. It is lykewyse resolved that every man shall weare what apparell himself listeth, and we here resolve to ryde uppon footclothes, som of one color, som of another, as they lyke; but the most that I heare of are of purple velvet imbroidered, as fayr as theyr purse wyll afford meanes. The great Ladys are appoynted to ryde in chariots; the Baronesses on horsebake, and they that have no sadells from the King must provide of theyr own: the number provided are 20, w^{ch} were provided against the coronation, of crimson velvet; and this is all I can advertes youe for that matter.

Whereas youer Lo. sayethe youe wear never perticulerly advertesed of the maske, I have been at 6^{d} charge wth youe to send youe the booke, w^{ch} wyll enform youe better then I can, having noted the names of the ladyes applyed to eche goddess; and, for the other, I would lykewyse have sent youe the ballet, yf I cowld have got yt for money; but these bookes, as I heare, are all cawled in, and in truthe I wyll not take uppon me to set that downe w^{ch} wyser then my self doe not understand. This day the King dined abrode wth the Florentine Imbassadore, who takethe now his leave very shortly: he was wth the King at the play at nyght, and sooped wth my Lady Ritche in her chamber. The Frenche Queen, as yt is reported, hathe sent to owr Queen a very fyne present, but not yet delyvered, in regard she was not well thes 2 dayes, and cam not abrode, therfor I cannot advertess the perticulers; but, as I heare, one part is a cabanet, very cunningly wrowght, and inlayed all over wth muske and amber grease, w^{ch} makethe a sweet savor; and in every box a severall present of flowers for head tyring, and juells. She hath lykewyse sent to dyverse cowncellors fayr presents of juells, & to mayny ladyes: some to those abowt the King, as S^{r} Thomas Earskin, S^{r} James Hey, and others. What the meaning is I cannot conceyve as yet, but tyme wyll discover that w^{ch} rarenes maketh a wonder.

Now, having doon wth matters of state, I must a little towche the feminine comon welthe, that agaynst youer coming youe bee not altogether like an ignorant countrey fellow. First, youe must knowe we have ladyes of divers degrees of favor; some for the privat chamber, some for the drawing chamber, some for bedchamber, and some for neither certeyn, and of this number is onely my La. Arbella, and my wife. My Lady of Bedford howldethe fast to the bedchamber; my Lady Harford would fayn, but her husband hathe cawled her home: My Lady of Derbee the yonger, the Lady Suffolke, Ritche, Nottingham, Susan, Walsingham, and, of late, the Lady Sothewell, for the drawing chamber: all the rest for the private chamber, when they are not shutt owt, for mayny times the dores are lokt: but the plotting and mallice amongst them is sutche that I thinke envy hathe teyed an invisibl snake abowt most of ther neks to sting one another to deathe. For the presence there are nowe 5 maids; Cary, Myddellmore, Woodhouse, Gargrave, Roper; the sixt is determyned, but not come: God send them good fortune, for as yet they have no mother. It is confidently reported that my Lady Sothwell shall mary the Master of Orkney, and yt is more then reported that S^{r} Thomas Erskins hath married S^{r} Edward Noris his rytche wyddow. And so, presenting my service to my honorable Lady, wyshe youe both a happye arryvall at London shortly: in the mean tyme I wyll rest

Youer Lo.' most affectionate true freend,

Court, 2 of Fe. 1603. E. WORCESTER."

In 1604 he was constituted one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshall, and was soon after invested with the order of the Garter. He held his post of Master of the Horse till 1615, and on his resignation of it in that year was appointed Lord Privy Seal, of which office he had soon after a new grant, with the enormous salary, considering the high value of money at that time, of fifteen hundred pounds annually. He was now

growing old. "When years," writes Sir Robert Naunton, in the conclusion of his short character of this nobleman, "had abated his exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor, and as I have placed him last, so he was the last liver of all the servants of Queen Elizabeth's favour; and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rest; and, for himself, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, he died rich, and in a peaceable old age; a fate, that I make the last, and none of the slightest observations, which befel not many of the rest, for they expired like unto lights blown out with the snuff stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with offence to the standers by." He departed at his house in the Strand, Westminster, on the third of March, 1627, and was buried in St. Mary's Chapel, in Windsor Castle.

The Earl of Worcester married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had eight sons and seven daughters, William, Lord Herbert, who died unmarried in his father's life-time; Henry, who succeeded to the honours, whom Charles the first, in reward of his unshaken fidelity, created Marquis of Worcester, and from whom the Duke of Beaufort is lineally descended; Thomas, a Knight of the Bath, created in 1626 Viscount Somerset, of Cashel, in Ireland, and died without male issue; Charles, Francis, and Christopher, who died infants; another Charles, likewise a Knight of the Bath, who married, and left three daughters, his coheirs; and Edward, a third Knight of the Bath, who also married, but died childless. The daughters were Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Guildford, of Hemsted, in Kent; Catherine, to William Lord Petre; Anne, to Sir Edward Winter, of Lidney, in Gloucestershire; Frances, to William, son and heir to William Morgan, of Llanternam in the County of Montgomery; Mary, who died an infant; Blanch, wife of Thomas, eldest son of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour; and a second Catherine, married to Thomas, Lord Windsor.

Engraved by H. T. Ryall.

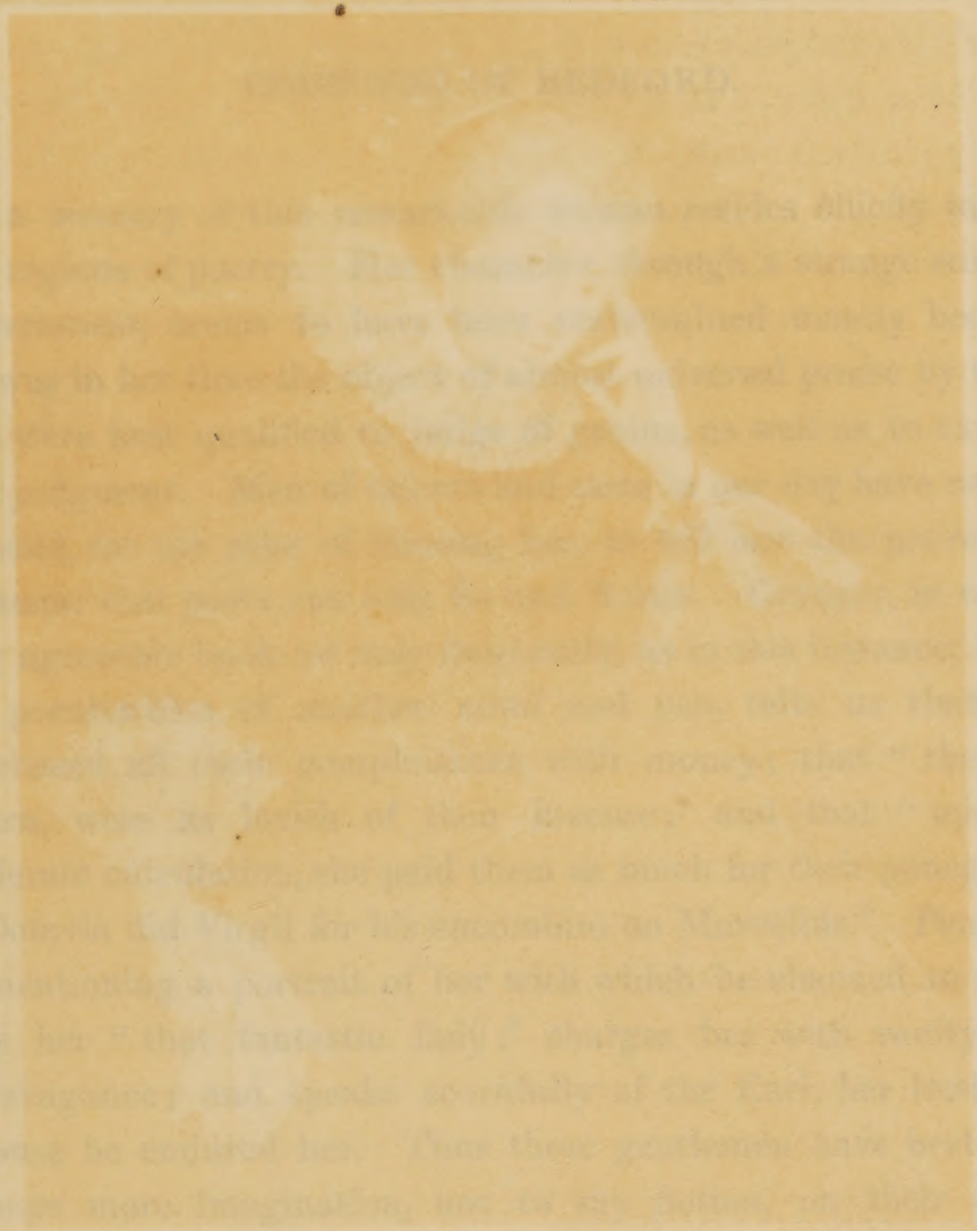
LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

1627.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Feby 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



LUCY HARINGTON,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

The memory of this remarkable woman resides chiefly in the airy regions of poetry. Her character, through a strange envious perverseness, seems to have been undervalued merely because she was in her time the object of almost universal praise by those who were best qualified to judge of genius, as well as to express that judgment. Men of talents and taste in our day have condescended, for the sake of abusing her, to fall into the proverbial nonsense that poets can only lie and flatter. Granger, in whose very agreeable book we may frequently, as in this instance, trace the peculiarities of another mind and pen, tells us that she purchased all their complaisance with money; that "they, in return, were as lavish of their incense;" and that "upon a moderate calculation, she paid them as much for their panegyrics as Octavia did Virgil for his encomium on Marcellus." Pennant, in mentioning a portrait of her with which he chanced to meet, calls her "that fantastic lady;" charges her with vanity and extravagance; and speaks scornfully of the Earl, her husband, because he endured her. Thus these gentlemen have bestowed perhaps more imagination, not to say fiction, on their sober prose, than she received at the hands of all her poets; for certain it is that they could not have cited a single fact in proof of their invectives.

She was the elder of the two daughters of John, first Lord Harington of Exton, by Anne, daughter, and sole heir, of Robert Kelway, Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Her only surviving brother, the friend and favourite of Henry Prince of Wales, in whom the title became extinct, dying unmarried six

months after he had succeeded to it, she became heir, under a settlement made by him on his death-bed, to two-thirds of his great estates. He was probably the youngest, and she the first born, of a very numerous issue; for he had scarcely reached the twenty-second year of his age in 1613, when he died, and she had then been the wife of Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, for nearly nineteen years. She was married at Stepney, in Middlesex, on the twelfth of December, 1594, to that nobleman, who, on the third of May, 1627, left her a childless widow, in the uncontrolled possession of immense wealth. Her inclinations, which indeed had never been severely curbed by him, for he was an easy good-tempered man, were now indulged to the utmost. Her great ambition, as it is said, was to establish a character so rare in her day that it had not yet acquired a distinct denomination: the character, as we should now call it, of a woman of taste: but ambition, whose natural aim is at general admiration and respect, seeks them in the rooted prejudices of mankind, and not in the practice of untried novelties. Patronesses to authors were not wanting among the women of rank who were the Countess of Bedford's contemporaries, but their protection was almost exclusively enjoyed by scholars, and devout writers; hers was confined to poets. The management of the garden and the orchard was then no insignificant part of a lady's education, but its great object was the supply of the table, and its utmost refinement consisted in the composition of the winter sweet pot: she added the elegancies of fancy to the uses of horticulture, and may, perhaps with justice, be placed among the first improvers of the English pleasure garden. It may indeed be fairly presumed that she was mistress of both; for Sir William Temple, in his Essay on the Gardens of Epicurus, celebrates her for projecting "the most perfect figure of a garden" that he had ever seen, at Moor Park, in Surrey, where she once resided; and an Italian, Giacomo Castelvetri, dedicated to her a treatise, which may be found in MS. in Sir Joseph Banks's library, intituled "Brieve Racconto di

tutte le Radici, di tutte l'Herbe, & di tutti i Frutti, che crudi o cotti in Italia si mangiano." She was well read, at least, in the learned languages, and so were many other ladies of her time, but in her application of that accomplishment she was distinguished from all others—We have the same authority for both those assertions—Sir Thomas Roe addressed a letter to her as one skilled in ancient medals. Thus she may be said to have invented her occupations and her amusements. It is perhaps therefore that historians and biographers have passed her by in silence, and that poets have delighted to celebrate her. Let us hear them on her behalf.

Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days, has the following epistle to her.

"To the Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

"Though Virtue be the same when low she stands
In th'humble shadows of obscurity,
As when she either sweats in martial bands,
Or sits in court clad with authority,
Yet, Madam, doth the strictness of her room
Greatly detract from her ability:
For, as inwall'd within a living tomb,
Her hands and arms of action labour not;
Her thoughts, as if abortive from the womb,
Come never born, though happily begot.
But where she hath, mounted in open sight,
An eminent and spacious dwelling got,
Where she may stir at will, and use her might,
There she is more herself, and more her own:
There, in the fair attire of honest dight,
She sits at ease, and makes her glory known:
Applause attends her hands; her deeds have grace;
Her worth new-born is strait as if full grown.

With such a godly and respected grace
Doth Virtue look that's set to look from high;
And such a fair advantage by her place
Hath state and greatness to do worthily;

And therefore well did your high fortunes meet
With her that, gracing you, comes grac'd thereby :
And well was let into a house so sweet,
So good, so fair, so fair so good a guest,
Who now remains as blessed in her seat,
As you are with her residency blest.
And this fair course of knowledge, whereunto
Your studies, learned Lady, are addrest,
Is th' only certain way that you can go
Unto true glory, to true happiness.
All passages on earth besides are so
Incumbred with such vain disturbances,
As still we lose our rest in seeking it,
Being deluded with appearances ;
And no key had you else that was so fit
T' unlock that prison of your sex as this,
To let you out of weakness, and admit
Your powers into the freedom of that bliss
That sets you there, where you may oversee
This rolling world, and view it as it is,
And apprehend how th' out sides do agree
With th' inward, being of the things we deem,
And hold in our ill cast accounts to be
Of highest value, and of best esteem :
Since all the good we have rests in the mind,
By whose proportions only we redeem
Our thoughts from out confusion, and do find
The measure of ourselves, and of our powers ;
And all that happiness remains confin'd
Within the kingdom of this breast of our's ;
Within whose bounds all that we look on flies
In other jurisdictions, other powers,
Out of the circuit of our liberties.

All glory, honour, fame, applause, renown,
Are not belonging to our royalties,
But t'others wills, wherein th'are only grown :
But that unless we find us all within,
We never can without us be our own ;
Nor call it right our life that we live in,

But a possession held for others' use,
That seem to have more interest therein ;
Which we do so dissever, part, traduce,
Let out to custom, fashion, and to show,
As we enjoy but only the abuse,
And have no other deed at all to show.
How oft are we constrained to appear
With other countenance than that we owe,
And be ourselves far off, when we are near !
How oft are we forc'd on a cloudy heart
To set a shining face, and make it clear,
Seeming content to put ourselves apart,
To bear a part of others' weaknesses !
As if we only were compos'd by art,
Not nature, and did all our deeds address
T' opinion, not t' a conscience, what is right
As fram'd b'example, not advisedness,
Into these forms that entertain our sight.
And though books, Madam, cannot make thy mind,
(Which we must bring) apt to be set aright,
Yet do they rectify it in that kind,
And touch it so as that it turns that way
Where judgment lies : and though we cannot find
The certain place of truth, yet do they stay
And entertain us near about the same,
And give the soul the best delight that may
Encheer it most, and most our spirits inflame
To thoughts of glory, and to worthy ends :
And therefore in a course that best became
The clearness of your heart, and best commends
Your worthy powers, you run the rightest way
That is on earth, that can true glory give,
By which, when all consumes, your fame shall live."

Among Ben Jonson's Epigrams we find three, the seventy-sixth, the eighty-fourth, and the ninety-fourth, inscribed to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The last was accompanied by a present of Donne's Satires.

76th. On Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" This morning, timely rapt with holy fire,
I thought to form unto my zealous muse
What kind of creature I could most desire
To honour, serve, and love, as poets use.
I meant to make her fair, and free, and wise,
Of greatest blood, and yet more good than great :
I meant the day star should not brighter rise,
Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.
I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,
Hating that solemn vice of greatness, pride :
I meant each softest virtue there should meet,
Fit in that softer bosom to reside.
Only a learned and a manly soul
I purpos'd her ; that should with even pow'rs
The rock, the spindle, and the sheers, controul
Of Destiny, and spin her own free hours.
Such when I meant to feign, and wish'd to see,
My muse bade Bedford write, and that was she."

84th. To Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" Madam, I told you late, how I repented
I ask'd a Lord a buck, and he denied me :
And, 'ere I could ask you, I was prevented ;
For your most noble offer had supplied me.
Straight went I home ; and there, most like a poet,
I fancied to myself what wine, what wit,
I would have spent : how ev'ry muse should know it,
And Phœbus self should be at eating it.
O, Madam, if your grant did thus transfer me,
Make it your gift : see whither that will bear me."

94th. To Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
Life of the muses' day, their morning star,
If works (not th' authors) their own grace should look,
Whose poems would not wish to be your book ?
But these desir'd by you, the makers' ends
Crown with their own : rare poems ask rare friends.

Yet satires, since the most of mankind be
Their unavoided subject, fewest see :
For none e'er took that pleasure in sin's sense,
But when they heard it tax'd took more offence.
They then that, living where the matter's bred,
Dare for these poems yet but ask, and read,
And like them too, must needfully, though few,
Be of the best, and 'mongst those best are you ;
Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
The muses' ev'ning as their morning star."

Dr. Donne, the high character of whose mind, as well as the severe habits of his pen, must place him beyond any possible suspicion of mercenary motives, addressed several of his poems to her, and wrote an elegy on her death. An extract from one of them will suffice to shew his opinion of her talents.

To the Countess of Bedford.

" T' have written there, when you writ, seem'd to me
Worst of spiritual vices, simony ;
And not t'have written then, seems little less
Than worst of civil vices, thanklessness.
In this, my doubt I seem'd loath to confess ;
In that, I seem'd to shun beholdingness.
But 'tis not so ; nothing, as I am, may
Pay all they have, and yet have all to pay.
Such borrow in their payments, and owe more,
By having leave to do so than before.
Yet since rich mines in barren grounds are shewn,
May I not yield, not gold, but coal or stone ?
Temples were not demolish'd, though profane ;
Here Peter Jove's, there Paul has Dian's fane :
So whether my hymns you admit or chuse,
In me you have hallowed a Pagan Muse,
And denizen'd a stranger, who, mistaught
By blamers of the times they marr'd, hath sought
Virtues in corners, which now bravely do
Shine in the world's best part, or all in you.
I have been told that virtue in courtiers' hearts
Suffers an ostracism and departs.

Profit, ease, fitness, plenty, bid it go,
But whither, only knowing you, I know.
Your, or you virtue two vast uses serves,
It ransoms one sex, and one court preserves.
There's nothing but your worth, which being true,
Is known to any other, not to you :
And you can never know it ; to admit
No knowledge of your worth, is some of it.
But since to you your praises discords be,
Stop other ills, to meditate with me.

Oh ! to confess we know not what we should
Is half excuse, we know not what we would.
Lightness depresseth us, emptiness fills :
We sweat, and faint, yet still go down the hills.
As new philosophy arrests the sun,
And bids the passive earth about it run,
So we have dull'd our mind ; it hath no ends ;
Only the body's busy, and pretends :
As dead low earth eclipses and controuls
The quick high moon, so doth the body souls.
In none but us are such mixt engines found
As hands of double office ; for the ground
We till with them, and them to heav'n we raise :
Who prayerless labours, or without this prays,
Does but one half ; that's none : He which said " Plough,
And look not back," to look up doth allow.
Good seed degenerates, and oft obeys
The soil's disease, and into cockle strays.
Let the mind's thoughts be but translated so
Into the body, and bastardly they grow.
What hate could hurt our bodies like our love ?
We, but no foreign tyrants, could remove
These not engrav'd, but inborn dignities ;
Caskets of souls, temples and palaces :
For bodies shall from death redeemed be
Souls but preserved, not naturally free.
As men t' our prisons, new souls to us are sent,
Which learn it there, and come in innocent.

First seeds of every creature are in us
What e'er the world hath, bad or precious.

Man's body can produce. Hence it hath been
That stones, worms, frogs, and snakes, in man are seen:
But who e'er saw, though nature can work so,
That pearl, or gold, or corn, in man did grow?
We've added to the world Virginia, and sent
Two new stars lately to the firmament:
Why grudge we us, not heaven, the dignity
T' increase with our's those fair souls' company.
But I must end this letter; though it do
Stand on two truths, neither is true to you.
Virtue hath some perverseness, for she will
Neither believe her good, nor others' ill.
Even in your virtues' best paradise
Virtue hath some, but wise, degrees of vice.
Too many virtues, or too much of one,
Begets in you unjust suspicion:
And ignorance of vice makes virtue less;
Quenching compassion of our wretchedness.
But these are riddles; some aspersion
Of vice becomes well some complexion.
Statesmen purge vice with vice, and may corrode
The bad with bad, a spider with a toad:
For so, ill thralls not them, but they tame ill,
And make her do much good against her will.
But in your commonwealth, or world in you,
Vice hath no office, or good work to do.
Take then no vicious purge, but be content
With cordial virtue, your known nourishment."

Even from the grave, which seldom flatters any but its inhabitants, arose her praises. In Twickenham Church, on the monument of her cousin, Bridget, Lady Markham, who died in 1609, we find an epitaph, remarkable enough in other respects, beginning thus—" Brigidæ lectissimæ, piissimæ, innocentissimæ, tamen hoc autem uno quo sexus dignior sexum fassæ quod mater fuit, cætera viri; quæ generi suo quo Jacob. Harringtoni, Eq. Aur. Jo. Baronis de Exton frat. filia fuit itaque inclytæ Luciæ Comitissæ de Bedford sanguine (quod satis) sed et amicitiâ propinquissima, quantum accepit, addidit splendoris," &c.

It would have been strange indeed had the Countess's pen been wholly unemployed, and indeed we find in the foregoing verses more than one allusion to her writings; but no relic perhaps is now to be discovered of her composition. It is equally extraordinary, and no pains have been spared in the search, that she should seem to have made no will. She is said to have spent immense sums, and it is well known that she sold much of the great inheritance which fell to her share, particularly the fine estate of Burleigh on the Hill, which was purchased of her by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who reared on it a noble mansion, which was destroyed during the grand rebellion, but much must still have remained with her. She survived the Earl her husband for many years, but the date of her death, and the place of her burial, are unknown. She has left, by a singular fatality, as it it should seem, a splendid reputation, which can neither be supported nor depreciated by the evidence of historical facts.

Engraved by J. Cochran

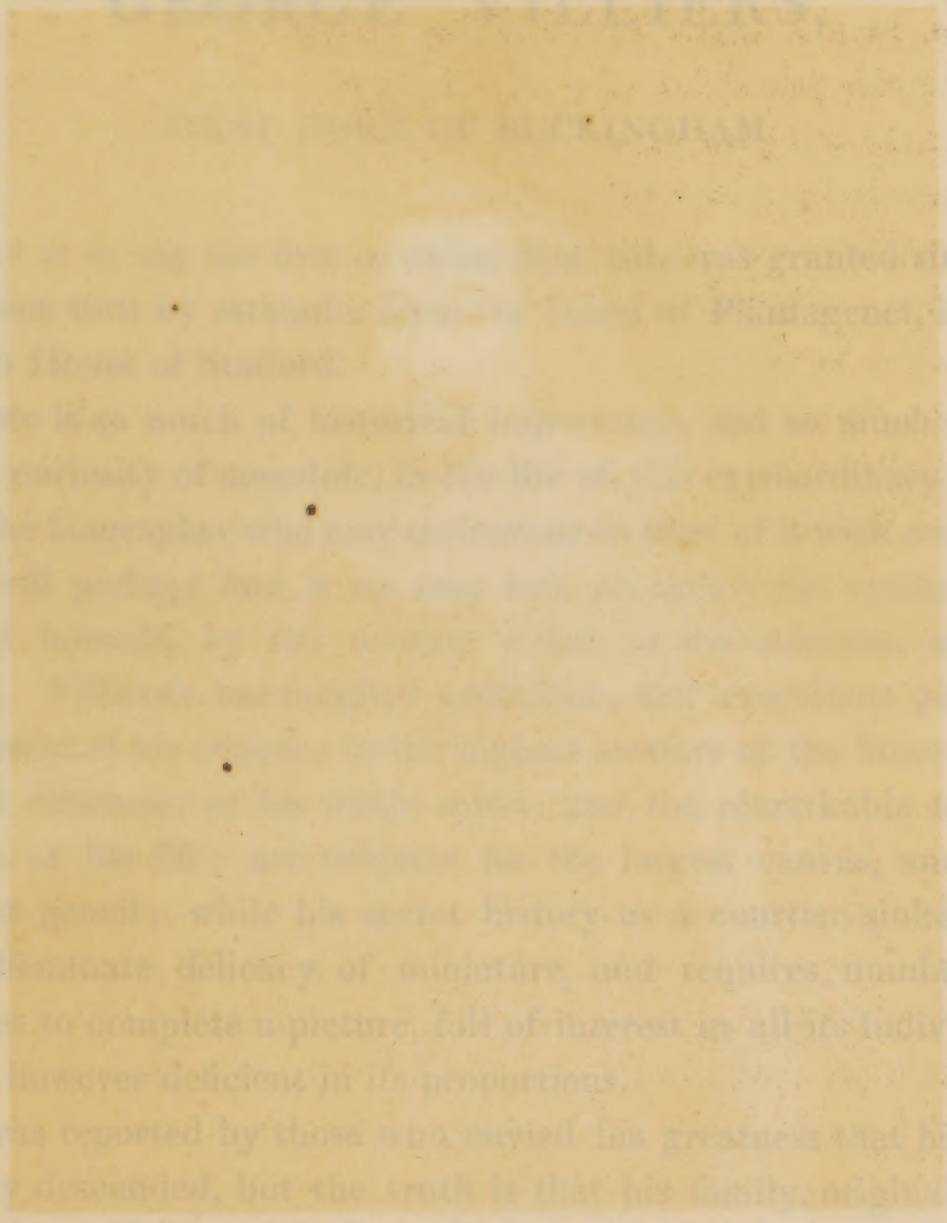
GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

OB. 1628.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

London, Published Aug.^t 1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



GEORGE VILLIERS,

FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

That is to say the first to whom that title was granted since it had been torn by attainder from the blood of Plantagenet, in the superb House of Stafford.

There is so much of historical importance, and so much more of the curiosity of anecdote, in the life of this extraordinary man, that the biographer who may endeavour to treat of it with conciseness will perhaps find it no easy task to satisfy his readers, or indeed himself, by the method either of his selection or his detail. Villiers's unexampled exaltation, and exorbitant power; the extent of his concern in the highest matters of the State; the ardent character of his whole mind; and the remarkable termination of his life; are subjects for the largest canvas, and the boldest pencil; while his secret history as a courtier sinks into the effeminate delicacy of miniature, and requires numberless touches to complete a picture, full of interest in all its individual parts, however deficient in its proportions.

It was reported by those who envied his greatness that he was meanly descended, but the truth is that his family, originally of the county of Nottingham, had been seated for four centuries before his birth among the best gentry, "rather indeed," as Sir Henry Wotton observes, "without obscurity than with any great lustre," at Brokesby, in Leicestershire, where he was born on the twenty-eighth of August, 1592. His father, Sir George Villiers, Knight, having had two sons by a former wife, married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, a younger brother of the ancient and still flourishing House of Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, in the same county, and George was the second, or, as some say,

the youngest of the three sons of that match. With little hope therefore even of a decent patrimony, he was sent, at ten years old, to a school at Billesden, in the neighbourhood of his parents, where, to use again the singular words of Wotton, " he was taught the principles of music, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth year of his age, when his father died." He was afterwards long instructed at home in dancing, fencing, and all the qualifications of a courtier, in which character it seems to have been rather the wish than the expectation of his parents that he might be sometime placed; and then passed three years in France, from whence he returned exact to perfection in every accomplishment which could be bestowed by an education from which all that we are used to call learning seems to have been utterly excluded.

He loitered away yet another year in his mother's house in the country before any plan could be devised for his future life, when meeting with the daughter of Sir Robert Aston, a Scotsman, who was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Robes to the King, they conceived a mutual affection for each other, and he followed her to London. " The gentlewoman loved him so well," says Welden, " as, could all his friends have made, for her great fortune, but an hundred marks jointure, she had married him presently, in despite of all her friends, and no question would have had him without any jointure at all." It is said, however, probably more truly, that he was dissuaded from the match by Sir James Graham, another minor courtier, who, discerning in him all the qualities which were likely to succeed there, " encouraged him," as Wotton tells us, " to woo fortune in the Court." He attached himself therefore to that gentleman, and accompanied him shortly after in a progress which the King made through the midland counties, and at Apethorpe, in Northamptonshire, James first saw him.

Among the many follies of that royal paradox, his admiration of an agreeable exterior was perhaps the most remarkable.

Homely in his own person, and even vulgar in his manners, he was delighted, almost to fascination, by a fine figure and countenance, and a graceful carriage. Villiers excelled in all, and the constant and precise agreement of the many who have described his sudden advancement leaves us no room to doubt that he owed it solely to those qualifications. The King imparted to Graham, with strict injunctions of secrecy, his intention to bestow on this young man the place of favourite, which indeed at that time was to be found in the establishment of almost every monarch, together, to quote Wotton once more, "with directions how, and by what degrees, he should bring him into favour."

James, however, was too impatient to wait the progress of his own arrangement. He commanded that Villiers should be sworn his servant, and gave him the office of Cupbearer; within a few weeks after, on the twenty-third of April, 1615, appointed him a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and settled on him an annual pension of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards; and, on the fourth of the following January, made him Master of the Horse, an office, before and since his time, always held by one of the prime nobility, and which the Earl of Worces ter then resigned, at the King's instance, to make room for him. Such was the fortune of his first year. On the twenty-third of April, in the second, 1616, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and the next day named Justice of the Forests north of Trent; on the twenty-seventh of August created Baron Whaddon, at which time the King gave him the rich Lordship of that name in the county of Buckingham, and, very shortly after, Viscount Villiers; on the fifth of January, 1617, N. S. Earl, and on the first of the next January Marquis, of Buckingham. In the course of the same month, in the succeeding year, he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales, and immediately after sworn of the Privy Council, and made Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests south of Trent, Master of the King's Bench office, High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle;

and all this before he had reached the twenty-sixth year of his age. In the mean time dignities and wealth were showered with a most unexampled wantonness and profusion on all his kindred. His mother was created Countess of Buckingham; one of his two brothers Viscount Purbeck, and the other Earl of Anglesey; and Sir William Fielding, who had married his only sister, Earl of Denbigh. His brothers and sisters of the half blood were also ennobled or enriched; and even his most distant relations were provided for by advantageous marriages, or lucrative appointments. The ancient nobility, many of whom had in the beginning lent him their aid, for the sake of raising a rival to the favourite Somerset, now looked on in sullen silence, and the people, who in truth had little concern in the matter, murmured loudly.

Together with his great honours and employments, he possessed a control so unbounded over the King's inclinations that he became the sole dispenser of all royal favours; and, by a felicity perhaps not to be paralleled, was held at the same time in the most unlimited affection and confidence by the Heir Apparent. Their characters were in most respects widely dissimilar, but they agreed in a disposition to form strong attachments, and in that perfect frankness of sincerity which alone can maintain them. Charles's regard was therefore reciprocated by Villiers, and as it seems to have been the first real friendship felt by either of them, so it naturally became of the strongest, and most lasting order. Thence originated, among many other public matters perhaps of greater importance, the romantic journey to Spain, projected by Buckingham, with all the impetuosity that distinguished him, and most readily adopted by the Prince, in direct opposition to the King's declared judgment and inclination. Few historical events have been so frequently and so largely detailed. A negociation had long subsisted for the marriage of Charles to the Infanta of Spain, which these young statesmen resolved to supersede by presenting themselves suddenly and unexpectedly, as private persons, to the most jealous and formal

Court in Europe. They set out on the eighteenth of February, 1623, under the names of Jack and Tom Smith, with a single attendant, from Buckingham's lately purchased palace of Newhall, in Essex; passed the Thames near Gravesend, where, by idly giving a piece of gold to the boatman, they excited a suspicion that they were persons of rank intending to cross the sea to fight a duel, and in consequence narrowly escaped being stopped at Rochester; were actually detained at Canterbury by the Mayor, to whom the Marquis was obliged to discover himself, taking off his false beard, and alledging, in his character of Lord Admiral, that he was going to take a secret view of the state of a fleet which was then equipping for the north seas; arrived in the evening at Dover, where they were joined by Sir Francis Cottington, and another, who had been sent to hire a vessel; and, embarking the next morning for Calais, on the twenty-first arrived at Paris, where Charles, standing among ordinary spectators in a balcony in the Court, first saw the beauteous Henrietta Maria, his future Queen.

At length they reached Madrid, and threw off their disguises in the house of the Earl of Bristol, the English Ambassador, who the next day notified to the King the arrival of his illustrious visitor. Charles was received with the most profound respect, and entertained with a long series of feasts and shows in the utmost degree of royal splendor, but permitted scarcely to see the fair object of his chivalrous enterprise. The Spaniards, conceiving naturally enough that he could have been tempted to undertake it only by an extravagant inclination to the match, laboured incessantly to induce him to purchase it by the sacrifice of his religion, and the Pope wrote to him at great length to the same effect, delaying his dispensation till he received Charles's answer, many passages in which gave great offence to the Protestants at home. In the mean time Villiers, who, during his absence, had been created Duke of Buckingham, and Earl of Coventry, quarrelled openly with the Count d'Olivares, then the Prime Minister and favourite

of the King of Spain, and with the Earl of Bristol, and left the Court without the usual formalities, under the pretence of visiting a British fleet then in the Bay of Biscay; and became suddenly the greatest enemy to the match which he had so lately taken such extraordinary steps to forward. James, vexed by his importunities to break it off, and by the disgust conceived against it in England, as much on the score of the vast expense of the journey as from the usual unpopular opinion of any connection with Spain, found himself obliged to give way. The Prince, weary of the absence of his confidant, and of the new causes of delay which almost daily arose, determined to return, leaving in the hands of Bristol an instrument by which he bound himself to solemnize the marriage within fifteen days after the arrival of a second dispensation, which the death of Pope Gregory the fifteenth had rendered necessary. He joined his friend at St. Andero, and they arrived in London on the sixth of October, 1623. An express was dispatched the very next day to the Earl of Bristol to suspend all proceedings, and speedily followed by a positive demand of the aid of Spain to procure the restitution of the Palatinate, as a condition for the completion of the nuptials. This was angrily refused; and thus, chiefly through the rashness and levity of Buckingham, ended a treaty which had subsisted for seven years, and on which the eyes of all Europe had been bent with a peculiar attention and anxiety.

He was, immediately after his return, appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Steward of the Manor of Hampton Court, but his favour with the King was now waning. James, passive as he was, had at length become impatient of rule, or was perhaps terrified at the serious perplexities with which Buckingham's imperiousness had surrounded him. The Duke, at the meeting of a new Parliament, which was called chiefly to consider of that great affair, stated at large, at a conference of the two Houses, the motives of the Prince's journey, and the circumstances which had consequently occurred, ascribing the miscarriage

of the treaty to the duplicity of Spain, and to the misconduct of the Earl of Bristol; and told them, in the conclusion of his harangue, that the King had recalled that nobleman in order to subject him to a public enquiry, when in fact James had sent for him for the purpose of opposing his wisdom and his boldness to the intolerable insolence of Buckingham. Nothing could have mortified the King more effectually. His favourite had not only appealed from his opinion to that of the Parliament, of which James, and with good reason, was already abundantly jealous, but had aimed at, and indeed suddenly acquired, a great degree of popularity with that body. But this was not all. He availed himself instantly of this disposition in the Parliament to ruin the Treasurer Cranfield, who, during his absence in Spain, had repeatedly ventured to expostulate with him on the endless calls for money which had arisen from that expedition, as well as to give his advice independently to the King on important matters of State. Cranfield and Bristol were impeached in the House of Commons, and the former, as may be seen more at large elsewhere in this work, was imprisoned, and enormously fined, but Bristol, a man of a lofty spirit, and undoubted integrity, exhibited a countercharge of high treason against the Duke, and so saved himself from punishment, though not from disgrace. Buckingham's last act of dominion over his absurdly indulgent master presently followed. James was forced by him to declare war against Spain, and died almost immediately after. Some faint rumour was raised that his death was purposely accelerated by a certain plaister applied to his breast by the Duke's direction, but the imputation has been spurned at by all creditable writers. If Buckingham shortened his life, it was by the slow poison of ingratitude.

The accession of Charles not only renewed, but increased, the measure of his favour. It had been expected, and very reasonably, that the Prince, on succeeding to the sovereign rule, would have abridged the extent of his power. The politicians trusted for

this to the cool and sober judgment which they knew his Majesty to possess; the courtiers, and other high-spirited men, to his resentment; for Buckingham's insolence to him was notorious, and it was no secret that he had even lifted his hand against Charles, on some dispute in a game of tennis, to strike him with a racquet: the people, always judging kindly, when they are allowed to judge for themselves, conceived that the King had endured him out of a dutiful respect to James's foibles, and would now give him up. All, however, were disappointed. "The new King," says Lord Clarendon, "from the death of the old even to the death of the Duke himself, discovering the most entire confidence in, and even friendship to, him that ever King had shewed to any subject: all preferments in Church and State given by him: all his kindred and friends promoted to the degree in honour, or riches, or offices, that he thought fit; and all his enemies and envyers discountenanced as he appointed." The Parliament, however, at least the new House of Commons, shewed a very different disposition. They declared against the war with Spain; refused the supplies necessary to maintain it; and grounded their denial on their sense of the Duke's misconduct in that country. Not content with this, they sifted the whole of his public life with the utmost asperity, and not only censured him by several distinct votes, but even carried up remonstrances against him to the Throne. Charles was unhappily prevailed on by him to dissolve that Parliament, as well as the next, which had proceeded against him on the old ground of the Earl of Bristol's impeachment. Plans to raise money, the legality of which was justly doubted, were now instituted, and hence originated that long scene of misery in which the Crown and the Parliament, inseparable supports to each other, crumbled into ruins, together with the happiness and the interests of the people.

While these matters were agitated, a treaty, which had been commenced before the late King's death, for the marriage of

Charles to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry the fourth of France, was concluded, and Buckingham was sent, in May, 1625, with great pomp, to Paris, to escort the Princess to England. Here again, as at Madrid, the turbulence of his passions produced an unhappy public effect. "He had the ambition," as Lord Clarendon informs us, "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affections to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with the most importunate addresses, insomuch as when the King (of France) had brought his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into England, the Duke, upon the departure of that Court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception, and, if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger: but he swore in the instant that he would see, and speak with that lady, in spite of the strength and power of France; and from the time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that Court and nation." So deep and lasting a resentment, arising from such a cause, has been perhaps unheard of. The great historian goes on to say that he was ever after unceasingly assiduous in his encouragement of all who were most obnoxious to the King of France, against whom he lost no opportunity of incensing his own Sovereign; and that he took great pains to lessen Charles's affection to his young and beautiful Queen; and even brought himself, contrary to his nature, to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards her; of which the Earl gives this most remarkable anecdote in proof—One day, when he unjustly apprehended that she had shewn some disrespect to his mother, he came into her presence with much passion, and after some very uncivil expostulations, told her that she should repent it; to which her Majesty answering with some quickness, he desired

her to recollect that there had been Queens in England who had lost their heads.

In the gratification of this unreasonable spirit of vengeance he persuaded Charles, within little more than a year after his nuptials, to declare war against France, and took on himself the chief command, both by land and sea. He sailed on the twenty-seventh of June, 1626, with ten men of war, and a multitude of other ships, having on board a land force of seven thousand men, with the view first of relieving the huguenot town of Rochelle, which, in its dread of offending France past forgiveness, at that time declined his aid. He then attacked the Isle of Rhe, in its neighbourhood, which was strongly fortified; and after five months spent in ineffectual endeavours, sometimes beaten, sometimes tricked, and always unsuccessful; and having lost between two and three thousand men, and forty colours; returned with the reputation of total military incapacity. Charles, however, received him with unabated grace and affection; but the popular outcry was excessive, and, in a Parliament, which had been lately called, the House of Commons declared him to have been the cause of all the evils and dangers under which the King, and the Kingdom, suffered. In the mean time a second fleet sailed to the same coast, which was intrusted to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, and which had no better success. A third expedition was presently after undertaken, now at the request of the Rochellers, which the Duke, anxious to retrieve the reputation which he had lately lost in the same service, again resolved to command in person, and in August, 1628, arrived at Portsmouth, to prepare for his embarkation.

On the twenty-third of that month, having just risen, and proceeding to the apartment in which his breakfast was prepared, accompanied by the Duke de Soubise, and several English and French officers, he was stabbed to the heart by an unknown person, at the very moment that the hangings were held up to admit him into the room. He drew out the knife from the wound,

and, uttering only the words—" The villain hath killed me,"—was dead in an instant. No one saw the stroke. The French who were near him, and speaking with the usual vehemence and action of their country, were for a moment in some danger, for those who understood not the language suspected that the conversation was angry, and that some one of them was the assassin. Presently, however, a hat was found on the floor, in the lining of which a paper was sewed, containing a few lines of the declaration lately published against the Duke by the House of Commons. There could be no doubt that it belonged to the murderer. All was tumult and confusion. Several ran out of the house to seek him, naturally supposing that he had lost no time in attempting to escape; when one of them, seeing a man without a hat walking very composedly near the door, exclaimed,—" Here is the fellow who killed the Duke;" and all crying out together—" which is he?"—the man answered with the utmost calmness, " I am he;" and added, as some have said, recollecting the suspicion which had fallen on the French, " I am the man who did the deed—let no man suffer who is innocent." Many rushed on him to kill him, and he endeavoured to meet the thrusts of their swords; while others, with more presence of mind, protected him. He was at length seized unhurt. He was presently known to be John Felton, a man of good family in Suffolk, and a lieutenant in the army, who had served in the Isle of Rhe, where his captain had been killed; and it was rumoured that he had entertained a deep resentment against the Duke for having refused to promote him to the command of his company. But when order was sufficiently restored to admit of questioning him with some coolness, and he was asked how, and by whom, he had been instigated, he answered, with the greatest firmness, that no man living could have persuaded him to perpetrate the act, and that he had imparted his intention to no one: that if his hat were sought for, they would find his motives written in it: that he had used that precaution under the impression that he should have been put to death

instantly after he had killed the Duke: and that he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from so great an enemy. The whole kingdom was struck with horror at this dreadful assassination. Even the Duke's most bitter enemies deplored, or, in decency, affected to deplore it. England could not at that time furnish monsters sufficiently depraved to apologize for a frantic enthusiast who had murdered even a bad minister.

In considering the marvellous power and prosperity which waited on the Duke of Buckingham's career, as well as the manner of its termination, we may regard with diminished scorn the error of more simple ages, which usually ascribed such tides of good fortune, so suddenly and tragically turned, to I know not what bargains with supernatural agents, who were supposed to lease out terms of human felicity, and to deprive their tenants of all at a stipulated moment. Superstition, however, seems to have exhausted itself in recording an uncommon number of ominous facts which were thought to prognosticate his death. Among these, the story of the apparition of his father, Sir George Villiers, too remarkable to be here wholly unnoticed, and too tedious to be recited, has been told by Lord Clarendon with such seriousness of relation, and such circumstantial exactness, that, however lightly we may be inclined to think of it, there can be little doubt that his Lordship gave it full credit.

The great historian has left a character of the Duke, conceived in a spirit of candour so pure, and with such incomparable judgment, and delivered with such a simple grandeur and sweetness of expression, that it is scarcely less painful to be under the necessity of abridging it, than it would be to increase the imperfections of this little memoir by wholly suppressing it. "This great man," says Lord Clarendon, "was a person of a noble nature, and generous disposition, and of such other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King. He understood the arts of a Court, and all the learning

which is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced favourite, who he knew would be always looked upon as the work of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige, from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted. His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement, that they were so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would: and it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to reconciliation; and yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular; and when he was in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge, the low method of courts, that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he first told him what he was to expect from him; and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity that the person found it in his power to receive satisfaction in the way he would choose for himself.

"His single misfortune was, which indeed was productive of many greater, that he never made a worthy and noble friendship with a man so near his equal that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passions; which was partly the vice

of the time, when the Court was not replenished with great choice of excellent men, and partly the vice of the persons who were most worthy to be applied to, and (who) looked upon his youth, and his obscurity before his rise, as obligations to gain their friendships by extraordinary application. Then his ascent was rather a flight than a growth; and he was such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was well seen at the bottom; and, as if he had been born a favourite, he was supreme the first month he came to court; and it was want of confidence, not of credit, that he had not at first (that) which he obtained afterwards; never meeting with the least obstruction, from his setting out till he was as great as he could be: so that he wanted dependants before he thought he could want coadjutors. Nor was he very fortunate in the election of those dependants, very few of his servants having been ever qualified enough to assist or advise him; and they were intent only upon growing rich under him, not upon their master's growing good as well as great; insomuch as he was, throughout his fortune, a much wiser man than any servant or friend he had. Let the fault or misfortune be what or whence it will, it may reasonably be believed that if he had been blessed with one faithful friend, who had been qualified with wisdom and integrity, that great person would have committed as few faults, and done as transcendant worthy actions, as any man that shined in such a sphere in that age in Europe; for he was of an excellent disposition, and of a mind very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful; nor was it ever known that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or unkind thing; and though he left a very great estate to his heirs, he owed no part of it to his own industry or solicitation, but to the impatient humour of two Kings, his masters, who would make his fortune equal to his titles; and the one as much above other men as the other was: and he considered it no otherwise than as their's, and left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almost to the value of

it. If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he is charged (and it is a weed, if a weed, apt to grow in the best soils), it doth not appear that it was his nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air; nor was it more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for an healthy man to sit in the sun, in the brightest dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two such masters."

The private life of the Duke of Buckingham, as indeed Lord Clarendon's character of him might incline us to expect, seems to have been nearly irreproachable. It has been objected against him, and strenuously denied, that his matrimonial infidelities were unbounded. It is however allowed by those who have so censured him that he was a tender and indulgent husband, and that his Duchess was the sole mistress of his heart. He bequeathed to her, for her life, all his mansion-houses, with a fourth part of his lands in jointure, and an absolute power to dispose of the whole of his personal estate. His affection to those of his own blood transported him, as we have seen, beyond all measure of prudence in their gratification. His magnificent and bounteous disposition made him, in spite of the deficiencies of his education, a patron of learning, and of the fine arts; among other proofs of which we find that he purchased at Antwerp a curious library of Arabic manuscripts, to present to the University of Cambridge, of which he was Chancellor; and formed a collection of pictures so superb, that for a very small part of them, which had been bought for him by Rubens, he paid ten thousand pounds. He possessed indeed a single piece, an Ecce Homo by Titian, for which the great collector, Thomas Earl of Arundel, had offered him seven thousand.

He married Catherine, daughter and sole heir of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland of his family, and afterwards, to the great offence of Charles the first, wife of Randal M'Donnel,

Marquis of Antrim. That lady brought him three sons; James, who died an infant; George, his successor, of whom hereafter; and Francis, who was slain by the rebels in a skirmish at Kingston on Thames, at the head of a troop which he had raised with the secret view of rescuing the King from Carisbrooke Castle. He left also one daughter, Mary, married, first, to Charles, Lord Herbert, son and heir to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who dying soon after, she took to her second husband James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox. The Duke of Buckingham lies buried on the north side of King Henry the seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

Engraved by J. Cochran

FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE.

OB. 1628.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

London, Published July 1, 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

FULKE GREVILLE,

FIRST LORD BROOKE.

Sir Fulke Greville, for by that style the subject of this memoir is best known, was one of the chief ornaments of Elizabeth's Court, and stood among the foremost of those who were graced by her smiles. Nature and circumstances seemed to have combined to place him favourably in the view of a Sovereign who was not more distinguished by her keen discernment, and ready approbation of merit, than by her reluctance to encourage it by solid rewards. His character united to most of the talents of a statesman the easy gaiety and refined elegance of a courtier. He was a good scholar; loved polite literature; delighted in composition, in which he employed his pen to a vast extent; and was a liberal patron to men of genius and learning. Not a breath of suspicion seems ever to have fallen either on the honour of his public or private conduct, or on his fidelity to the Crown; and his loyalty to Elizabeth appeared to be tinctured by a mixture even of personal friendship. On the other hand, he was born to the inheritance of a large estate, which he sought not to increase; avoided all intrigues, either in Court or State, and lived in harmony with the great in both; was free from envy, and perhaps just sufficiently jealous of those who were occasionally more favoured than himself to soothe the vanity of his mistress, without annoying her by his endeavours to supplant them.

Few private gentlemen could boast a more illustrious descent. His father, Sir Fulke Greville, of an ancient knightly family, sprung maternally from the great baronial houses of Beauchamp of Powick, and Willoughby de Brooke; and his mother was

Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. He was born in 1554, their only son, and great pains were bestowed on his education, which commenced in a school, then of considerable fame, in the town of Shrewsbury, where he was placed with his relation, the incomparable Philip Sidney, the darling companion of his youth, and the idol of his more mature friendship. He went from thence, at about the age of sixteen, to Oxford; was admitted, it is not known of what House, a gentleman commoner; and, after a short stay in that University, removed to Trinity College, in Cambridge, and, having there concluded his academical studies, passed on the continent the time usual with youths of his rank, and returned highly accomplished. He was now introduced at Court, and with uncommon advantages, for he was kinsman not only to the highly favoured Sir Henry Sidney, but to the sagacious and useful Walsingham, and those great statesmen had determined to breed him to their own envied and painful profession. The character of his nature, however, frustrated their endeavours. He was at once indolent and active, cautious and enterprising. He longed for distinction, but viewed with disgust the steps that usually lead to ministerial eminence. The earlier part of his life passed therefore without public employment, except in some offices probably of more profit than efficiency, which he held under Sir Henry Sidney, in his presidency of the Marches of Wales; one of which, indeed, that of Clerk of the Signet to the Council there, to the reversion of which he succeeded in 1581, is said, almost incredibly, to have produced him in fees the great annual income of two thousand pounds.

His inclination however to stand upon his own merits remained unaltered by these advantages. Sir Philip Sidney, whom he seems to have chosen as his model, was perhaps also his adviser; and who could have refused as a guide him whom it was a glory even faintly to imitate? He projected various schemes of foreign excursion, the accomplishment of which was always prevented

by the Queen's express commands. "How mild soever," says he, in his life of Sir Philip Sidney, which exhibits too the most important parts of his own, "those mixtures of favours and corrections were in that princely Lady, yet, to shew that they fell heavy in crossing a young man's ends, I will only chuse and alledge a few out of many, some with leave, some without. First, when those two mighty armies of Don John's, and the Duke Casimir's, were to meet in the Low Countries, my horses, with all other preparation, being shipped at Dover, with leave under her bill assigned, even then was I staid by a princely mandate, the messenger Sir Edward Dyer." He goes on to state that having soon after made a visit to Walsingham, who was then Ambassador at Paris, without Elizabeth's permission, she was so highly offended as to forbid him her presence for several months after his return; that she arrested him, together with Sir Philip Sidney, at the moment when they were about to sail with Drake to the West Indies, in 1585; prevented him from attending Leicester, who had given him the command of an hundred horse, to the Low Countries; and, finally, punished him by a second banishment from the Court, for six months, because he had gratified an earnest curiosity to be present for a time with the army of the King of Navarre, during the wars of the League. "By which many warnings," he concludes, "I, finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching than glorious, called my second thoughts to council, and in that map clearly discerning action and honour to fly with more wings than one, and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his Sovereign's hand had planted it, I found reason to contract my thoughts from those larger, but wandering, horizons of the world abroad, and bound my prospect within the safe limits of duty, in such home services as were acceptable to my Sovereign."

He returned therefore to the life of a courtier, and contented himself for the time with such fame as might be derived from

shining in tournaments, and at banquets, and enlivening Elizabeth's select parties by the graces of his manners and conversation. Thus he passed many years, devoting however his frequent intervals of leisure to almost universal study, and to literary composition of characters little less various. It seems to have been his ambition, or his delight, or both, to confine in the golden fetters of verse the discussion of subjects which the simplicity and amplitude of prose too frequently fail to treat of with competent clearness. Hence, it is in some measure, that he has incurred the blame of a mysterious, confused, and affected writer, when the censure was rather due to a false taste, or an arrogant judgment, than to any remarkable deficiency, either of intellect or style. His prose is sufficiently intelligible; abundantly figurative, according to the fashion of his time; but, contrary to that fashion, frequently insufferably diffuse. It is evident that he neither thought nor wrote with facility, and it is no injustice to his memory to reckon him among the million whom vanity has added to the list of authors. As a lover of letters, and a patron of literary men, his reputation stands on higher ground. He founded an historical lecture in the University of Cambridge, on an annual stipend of one hundred pounds. Camden, who without detracting from the worth of Bacon or Herbert, may be called the father of truth, and purity of style, in the composition of English history, was eminently favoured by him. "This Sir Fulke Greville," says that writer, enumerating in his Britannia the eminent persons of the County of Warwick, "doth so entirely devote himself to the study of real virtue and honour, that the nobleness of his mind far exceeds that of his birth; for whose extraordinary favours, though I must despair of making suitable returns, yet, whether speaking or silent, I must ever preserve a grateful remembrance of them." The respectable Speed, who was rescued by him from that which a customary prejudice has designated the meanest of all mechanical employments, in his topographical work thus owns his obligations.

" Sir Fulke Greville's merits to me-wards I do acknowledge, in setting this hand free from the daily employments of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to express the inclination of my mind; himself being the procurer of my present estate." Davenant, the Laureat in the reigns of Charles the first and second, was bred in his house, and lived with him till his death; and a host of poets have mixed with their compliments to his muse their more sincere celebration of his munificence.

To return to the circumstances of his life, it was not till October, 1597, that the honour of knighthood was conferred on him, and we find him a few months after stepping out of his usual course of independence, and soliciting for the office of Treasurer of the Wars, which he did not obtain. In 1599, however, he was appointed for life Treasurer for Marine Causes, and is said to have accepted about the same time a commission as Rear Admiral in the fleet which was then equipped to resist a second invasion threatened by the Spaniards; but Elizabeth, in the concluding year of her reign, did at length bestow on him a lasting mark of her favour, by granting to him the manor, and extensive lands, of Wedgenock, one of the Warwickshire estates which had fallen to the Crown by the attainder of the Dudleys. He represented that County in most of the Parliaments of her reign; was an occasional speaker; and frequently chosen of committees.

James the first, at whose coronation he was made a Knight of the Bath, in 1603 added to his possessions in his native county a grant of the ancient Castle of Warwick, with its demesne. No boon could have been more to his taste. It was then in so ruinous and neglected a state that the only habitable part of it was used for the common gaol of the county; but " he bestowed so much cost, at least twenty thousand pounds," says Dugdale, in his History of Warwickshire, " in the repairs thereof; beautifying it with the most pleasant gardens, plantations, and walks, and adorning it with rich furniture; that, considering its situation, no place in that midland part of England can compare with it for

stateliness and delight." Here then was a new occupation for the dignified leisure that he loved, and he added to it about this time a design to write a history of the preceding reign, derived from the only proper sources of history, original state papers, and his own knowledge of facts. This plan, from motives which may readily be conceived, was defeated by the selfish apprehensions of the Secretary Cecil, to whom he applied for the inspection of many documents necessary to his purpose. Greville, who perhaps had foreseen some opposition in that quarter, prefaced his request by observing that he " conceived an historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth; but that to tell all the truth were both justly to wrong and offend not only Princes and States, but to blemish and stir up against himself the frailty and tenderness, not only of particular men, but of many families;" and has been therefore severely censured by Lord Orford. Without stopping to weigh the respective demerits of historical reservation, whether arising from the meanness of fear, or the insolence of faction, suffice it to say that Cecil at first readily acceded to his motion, but, after some musing, asked him " why he would dream out his time in writing a story, being as likely to rise in this time as any man he knew;" and that, finding he could not be moved from his purpose by artifice, told him that " upon second thoughts, he durst not presume to let the council chest lie open to any man living, without his Majesty's knowledge and approbation." And " with this supersedeas," says Sir Fulke, who tells the story at considerable length in his Life of Sidney, " I humbly took my leave; at the first sight assuring myself that this last project of his would necessarily require sheet after sheet to be viewed; and that the many judgments which those embrios of mine must probably have passed through would have brought forth such a world of alterations as, in the end, the work itself would have proved a story of other men's writing, with my name only put to it; and so a worship of time; not a voluntary homage of duty."

He remained, however, unemployed in public affairs till after Cecil's death, but in 1614 was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Under-Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer. As the duties and labours of those offices were moderate in the infant days of the modern giant finance so were their profits. It may be worth observing that the annual emolument of the Chancellor did not amount to forty pounds; nor that of the Under Treasurer to one hundred and eighty. On the ninth of January, 1620, he was created a Baron, by the title of Lord Brooke, of Beauchamp's Court, in Warwickshire, with remainder to his cousin, Robert Greville, whom he had bred, and adopted as his son, and who will presently be spoken of more at large; and in the following year he resigned his ministerial posts, and accepted that of one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber. To his natural carelessness of the most usual objects of ambition was now added the indolence of increasing years. The light labours of his closet, and the polished conversation of the Court, employed the remainder of his life, and he had reached his seventy-fourth year, with little decay of health or spirits, when he was murdered, in his residence of Brooke House, in Holborn, by a gentleman domestic, whom he had retained for many years in his service. The assassin, Ralph Heywood, who was alone with him in his bedchamber, stabbed him in the back; rushed instantly into another apartment; and destroyed himself. This horrid act has been commonly, but very improbably, attributed to the omission of Heywood's name in his Lord's will, a fact which it is scarcely possible could have been known, especially by a person of his degree, till after that nobleman's death. On this report, however, a tedious speculation on the ingratitude of patrons, and the misery of dependents, cruelly injurious to the memory of Lord Brooke, may be found in a great biographical work of modern date, by no means distinguished for its affection to the aristocratic order. The blow was probably the result of sudden frenzy. The noble

sufferer survived a few days, and, dying on the thirtieth of September, 1628, was buried, with much solemnity, in the great church of Warwick, under a monument, which he had some years before erected, with the well known inscription, " Fulke Greville, Servant to Queen Elizabeth; Counsellor to King James; and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney. Trophæum Peccati." Lord Brooke was never married.

He wrote in prose, " The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney"—" A letter to an honourable Lady, with advice how to behave herself to a Husband of whom she was jealous"—" A Letter on Travel," written for the use of his cousin Greville Verney, then in France;—but a little book, impudently published under his name in 1643, intituled " The five Years of King James, or the Condition of the State of England," &c. is undoubtedly spurious, although Lord Orford has unwarily admitted it into his list of Lord Brooke's writings. His poetical works, most of which were published about five years after his death, were " Cælica," a collection of one hundred and nine songs and sonnets, several of great length—" A Treatise of Human Learning," in fifteen stanzas—" An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour," in eighty-six stanzas—" A Treatise of Wars," in sixty-eight stanzas. These four pieces were published in one volume in 1633; but in 1670 appeared " The Remains of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, being Poems of Monarchy and Religion, never before printed;" extending together to the enormous length of nearly eight hundred stanzas of six lines. He wrote also two tragedies; " Alaham,' and " Mustapha," after the model of the ancient drama; an ineffectual attempt to vitiate the theatrical taste of his country, more pardonable in him than in others who have since made it with equal ill fortune. A third has also been imputed to him, intituled " Marcus Tullius Cicero," but it is believed to have been written by another hand.

To the very short examples of Lord Brooke's prose composition which have been here incidentally given, I will add a single specimen perhaps of his best poetry, and conclude.

Love, the delight of all well thinking minds ;
  Delight, the fruit of virtue dearly loved ;
Virtue, the highest good that reason finds ;
  Reason, the fire wherein men's thoughts be proved ;
    Are from the world by nature's power bereft,
    And in one creature, for her glory, left.

Beauty her cover is, the eye's true pleasure ;
  In honour's fame she lives, the ear's sweet musick ;
Excess of wonder grows from her true measure ;
  Her worth is passion's wound, and passion's physic ;
    From her true heart clear springs of wisdom flow,
    Which, imag'd in her words and deeds, menk now.

Time fain would stay, that she might never leave her ;
Place doth rejoice, that she must needs contain her ;
Death craves of heaven that she may not bereave her ;
The Heavens know their own, and do maintain her.
    Delight, love, reason, virtue, let it be
    To set all women light but only she.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF TOTNES.

OB. 1629.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

London, Published Apr. 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

GEORGE CAREW.

GEORGE CAREW,

EARL OF TOTNES.

Various circumstances have combined to obscure the fame of this great and good man, and to exclude his character from that station amidst British worthies to which it is so justly entitled. He was a wise and honest statesman, a most eminent military commander, and an historian not less estimable for the extent and correctness of his views than for a purity and perspicuity of expression of which few other instances are to be found among the authors of his day: but his counsels, and the labours of his pen, as well as of his sword, were chiefly devoted to the affairs of a nation at that time not only wholly unable to appreciate his deserts, but which was regarded by England with a degree of contempt extending its influence, in some sort, even to all who concerned themselves in any way with that unfortunate and uncivilized people. To this fortuitous impediment were added others which arose out of his nature: a dignified pride that scorned the arts by which men too frequently acquire distinction, and a simplicity of mind which, had he been inclined to use them, would perhaps have disqualified him. He was too modest to blazon his fame with his own hand, and he left no successor to his dignities to cherish and maintain the memory of his worth.

More than one error has occurred regarding his descent. It is stated in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors that he was a younger son; but he was either born his father's heir, or became so by the death of his only brother in 1580, when a very young man. The ingenious continuator too of that work has founded a doubt as to the peculiar line of the ancient family from which he sprung on the credit of a long inscription on the back of a portrait, remaining in that of his lady, which derives him from

the Carews of Antony, a branch widely distant from his own. There are perhaps few authorities of less value than such inscriptions, the writers and the dates of which are almost always unknown. The fact is that he was the son and heir of a clergyman, George Carew, a cadet of the elder and baronial branch of that once mighty Devonshire family, who was successively Archdeacon of Totnes, Dean of Bristol, of the King's Chapel, of Christchurch Oxon, of Exeter, and of Windsor, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Harvey. He was born in 1557, and at the age of fifteen was admitted a gentleman commoner of Pembroke College, then called Broadgate Hall, in Oxford, where he was distinguished by the variety, the rapidity, and the success, of his studies, particularly of historical and legal antiquities, his zeal in the discovery and illustration of which increased with his years, and employed all his hours of leisure.

It is singular that a young man thus disposed should have suddenly adopted the military profession, but there can be little doubt that he was induced to that step by his uncle, James Wingfield, who was then in the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in Ireland: certain it is however that he quitted the University without taking a degree, and that we find him soon after serving against the insurgents in the province of Munster. Even so early as 1579, as Camden informs us, he was intrusted with the command, jointly with another, of a garrison town, and sustained, with signal perseverance, a siege which the enemy were at length compelled to relinquish. In the beginning of the following year he was appointed, together with his only brother, Peter Carew, who had accompanied him in this expedition, to the government of a fortress which Camden calls "Asketten Castle," and, on the death of Peter, who fell very shortly after in a skirmish not far from Dublin, remained alone in that trust. Such was the commencement of a career of military service, pursued, with few interruptions, for more than twenty years, and distinguished equally by prudence and bravery. He

rose, through various promotions, to the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in Ireland, to which he probably succeeded on the death of his uncle, having previously received the honour of Knighthood, and was recalled from that country in 1596, to serve in the same capacity in the two excursions against the Spaniards. In the following year he was sent Ambassador to Poland, and in 1599 returned to Ireland, where he was now appointed President of Munster, Treasurer of the Army, and one of the Lords Justices, which latter office was soon after dissolved by the arrival of Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, in the character of Lord Lieutenant. This was the most critical period of the tedious Irish rebellion, the succeeding termination of which may be ascribed almost wholly to his admirable conduct. "Thus far," says Camden, having recited the simultaneous good services of Montjoy, "did the Lord Deputy proceed the very first year, and Sir George Carew made a progress in Munster equally successful, for he was lately made President of that southern province of Ireland, which was desperately harassed by a rebellion which the titular Earl of Desmond had promoted through every part of it; for, in the first place, he so ordered the matter with the commanders of the hired troops from Connaught, that when the rebels had sent for them, he got Dermot O'Connor out of the country by a wile; sent away Redmond O'Burgh, by giving him hopes of retrieving his ancient estate; and dispatched Tirrell by alarming him with the apprehension of being murthered unawares. He moreover so dexterously fomented a suspicion he had before raised among the rebels by sham and counterfeit letters, that they grew jealous, and ran away from one another. After this, he, and the Earl of Thomond, his constant and inseparable friend and assistant, marched against them; took the titular Earl, who was rescued afterwards by the rebels; and either seized on, or took by capitulation, the castles of Loughguire, Crome, Glan," &c. &c. After recounting a long series of gallant and successful exploits performed by officers whom Carew had

charged with particular duties, Camden concludes—"to be brief, the President, who had found that province so miserably out of order upon his entrance in April," (1600) "managed things with that conduct that by December all things were in a quiet posture, and not one single fort stood out against the Queen."

Satisfied with the measure of glory which he had justly acquired, and conceiving his task of duty now fully accomplished, he languished to return to England, and to pass the remainder of his life in study and retirement. To crown his successes, Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Desmond mentioned in the extract from Camden, who was the most powerful leader in that part of the island, had lately fallen again into his hands, and had been, by his advice, brought to a trial for high treason, in order to the forfeiture of his great estates. This done, and it appears to have been done with all due regard to law and justice, Carew spared his life, and sent him prisoner to London, together with Florence Maccarty, another eminent chief. At that precise period he addressed the following letter to Elizabeth; curious in many respects, and particularly as a finished specimen of the courtly composition then in vogue. It is printed in his "Pacata Hibernia," a work of which more will presently be said.

Sacred and most dread Sovereign,

To my unspeakable joy I have received your Majestie's letter, signed with your royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinarie addition to the same, which, although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your Majestie's service, whiche from my cradle, I thanke God for it, was ingraffed in my heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same; and wherein my endeavours and poore merites shall appear to be shorte of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majestie's eternall prosperitie shall never faile to the last day of life. But when I compare the felicities which other men enjoy with my unfortunate destinie, to bee deprived from the sight of your royall

person, which my heart with all loyall affection, injurious to none, ever more attends, I live like one lost to himself and wither out my days in torment of minde until it shall please your sacred Majestie to redeem me from this exile, which, unless it be for my sinnes, upon the knees of my heart I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate, and to shorten the same as speedily as may be. Since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdome, for better than a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune that deprives mee from beholding your Majestie's person, although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergo, yet, to make it appear that I have not been idle, I thanke God for it, I have now at length, by the meanes of the White Knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of James Fitz Thomas, that archtraytour, and usurping Earle, whom, for a present, with the best conveniencie and safetie which I may find, I will by some trustie gentleman send unto your Majestie, whereby I hope this province is made sure from any present defection. And, now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech that, in your princelie consideration, my exile may ende, protesting the same to be a greater affliction to me then I can well endure; for, as my faith is undivided, and onely professed, as by divine and humane lawes the same is bound, in vassalage to your Majestie, so doth my heart covet nothing so much as to be evermore in attendance on your sacred person, accounting it a happinesse unto me to dye at your feet; not doubting but that your Majestie, out of your princelie bountie, will enable me by some meanes or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service, and that my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not any importunate craver, or yet in not using other arguments to moove your Majestie thereunto then this—"Assai demanda qui ben serve e face." So, most humblie beseeching your Majestie's pardon in troubling you with these lines, unworthie your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadowes of your royall feet.

From your Majestie's citie of Corke, this third of June, 1601.

Impending circumstances however, unknown to himself, were about to claim his strictest personal attention, and to recal him to the most arduous service. In the spring of that year a secret engagement had been made to the Pope by the King of Spain, to send a powerful force to the succour of the Irish in Munster, and, almost immediately after the date of his letter to the Queen, the rebels, encouraged by the expectation of that aid, again appeared in arms in that province. In the middle of September he suddenly received certain intelligence that the Spanish fleet was then under sail. The Lord Deputy was at that time at Kilkenny, with few attendants, and even without his usual military guard, and it was warmly debated in council whether he should wait there for the assembling of the forces, or return to Dublin. "Some," (to use again the words of Camden, who reports Carew's judgement on that question with an air of peculiar information and accuracy) "thought it best for him to return; and that it was not consistent with the grandeur of a Lord Deputy to go forward with so small a train. The President was very positive in the contrary opinion, viz.—' that he could neither stay there, nor return, without being taxed as timerous and faint-hearted, as well as hazarding the defection of the whole province; and that niceties and punctilios are to be dispensed with where the safety of a kingdom is at stake. It was requisite therefore he should advance forward, and use his authority as Lord Deputy against such as were inclinable to revolt, who would not only in all probability remain more fixed to their duty when overawed by the Lord Deputy's presence, who had been so famous for his happy successes, but would most certainly revolt should he turn back.' The President offering him a guard of two hundred horse, and assuring him that Cork was plentifully furnished with all necessaries, he advanced on with a great deal of chearfulness."

On the twenty-third of September the Spanish fleet, which had been prevented by the failing of wind from reaching Cork, entered the harbour of Kinsale, and landed their troops, who

were received by the people of the town and neighbourhood with open arms. Carew now displayed all the faculties of a great General. With a vigour and coolness by which the warlike operations of that time were little distinguished he desolated the surrounding country, after having made himself master of all the provisions that it afforded; enlisted, and distributed among the most faithful of his bands, those of the better sort of the neighbouring Irish whose attachment he most doubted; and, having seized a castle garrisoned by the Spaniards, and not less conveniently situated for the defence of the English ships on the coast than for the annoyance of the town, and made the most judicious disposition of his army, commenced the siege of Kinsale with the utmost judgement and resolution. It was obstinately defended till the arrival of Montjoy, with a reinforcement, which, though large, was very inferior to the united army of the Spaniards, and Irish, whose main body, however, he attacked with great fury. Carew, who in the beginning of the action had been occupied in preventing with signal dexterity any sally by the garrison, joined the Lord Deputy at the moment when the enemy had fallen into some confusion, and the most complete rout ensued; Kinsale was surrendered under articles of capitulation, by which the whole of the Spanish army, consisting of the remains of six thousand men, also put itself into the hands of the conquerors; and this signal victory may be considered as the death-blow to the Irish rebellion.

The disorders necessarily incident to a country which had so lately been the seat of war yet required his presence for a time, and it was not till the spring of the succeeding year that he obtained permission to return to England, where he arrived on the twenty-first of March, three days only before the Queen expired. James received him with the grace and gratitude which he had so largely merited; appointed him Governor of Guernsey; and, on the fourth of June, 1605, advanced him to a Barony, by the title of Lord Carew, of Clopton, in the County of Warwick.

He was in the same year placed in the offices of Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer to the Queen, sworn of the Privy Council, and named Ambassador to Paris, in which station he remained with the greatest credit for four years; and immediately after his return was appointed Master of the Ordnance for life. After this period he withdrew himself as much as he could from public affairs, and doubtless employed the years which were afterwards spared to him chiefly in amassing, arranging, and illustrating, that great body of now neglected documents which will presently be briefly mentioned. Charles the first, by whom he was highly esteemed, raised him to the dignity of Earl of Totnes, on the first of February, 1625, O. S. the first year of that Prince's reign. He died at the Savoy, in the Strand, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1629, and is buried, under a superb monument, at Stratford upon Avon.

The accounts which have been transmitted to us of the extent of his compositions and collections are nearly incredible. Bishop Nicolson says that he wrote forty-two volumes relating to the affairs of Ireland, which are preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, and four more of extracts from the Cotton manuscripts. Harris, in his Irish history, tells us that four large volumes, containing "chronologies, letters, muniments, and other materials belonging to Ireland," are in the Bodleian library; and Dugdale states that several others were sold by his executors to Sir Robert Shirley. His printed works are less numerous. He prepared large materials for a history of the reign of Henry the fifth, which are incorporated into Speed's history of Great Britain; and wrote "a Relation of the State of France, with the characters of Henry the fourth, and the principal persons of his court," published by Dr. Birch. He also translated from the old French an historical poem, written in the reign of Richard the second, a specimen of which may be found in Harris's Hibernica. But his principal publication is a History of the wars in Ireland, especially within the province of Munster, from 1599 to 1602, inclu-

sive, better known by the title of "Pacata Hibernia," which was printed in 1633, by his natural son, Thomas Stafford. A question has ridiculously arisen from a single equivocal expression in the preface to that work whether it was composed by himself, or by another from the materials left by him! while a passage in the same document, the meaning of which can admit of no doubt, clearly points him out as the author in the fullest sense of the word. Granger truly observes that "it is written with the unaffected openness and sincerity of a soldier." He might have added that it is not less distinguished by the pure simplicity of its style, and by the most admirable modesty.

The Earl of Totnes married Anne, daughter and sole heir of William Clopton, of Clopton, in the County of Warwick, by whom he acquired great estates, which on the death of his only son without issue, he, with a noble generosity, impowered her to return to her family. He had by her that son, Peter Carew, mentioned above; and one daughter, Anne, married first to a Mr. Wilsford, or Wilford, of Kent, and, secondly, to Sir Allen Apsley.

Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

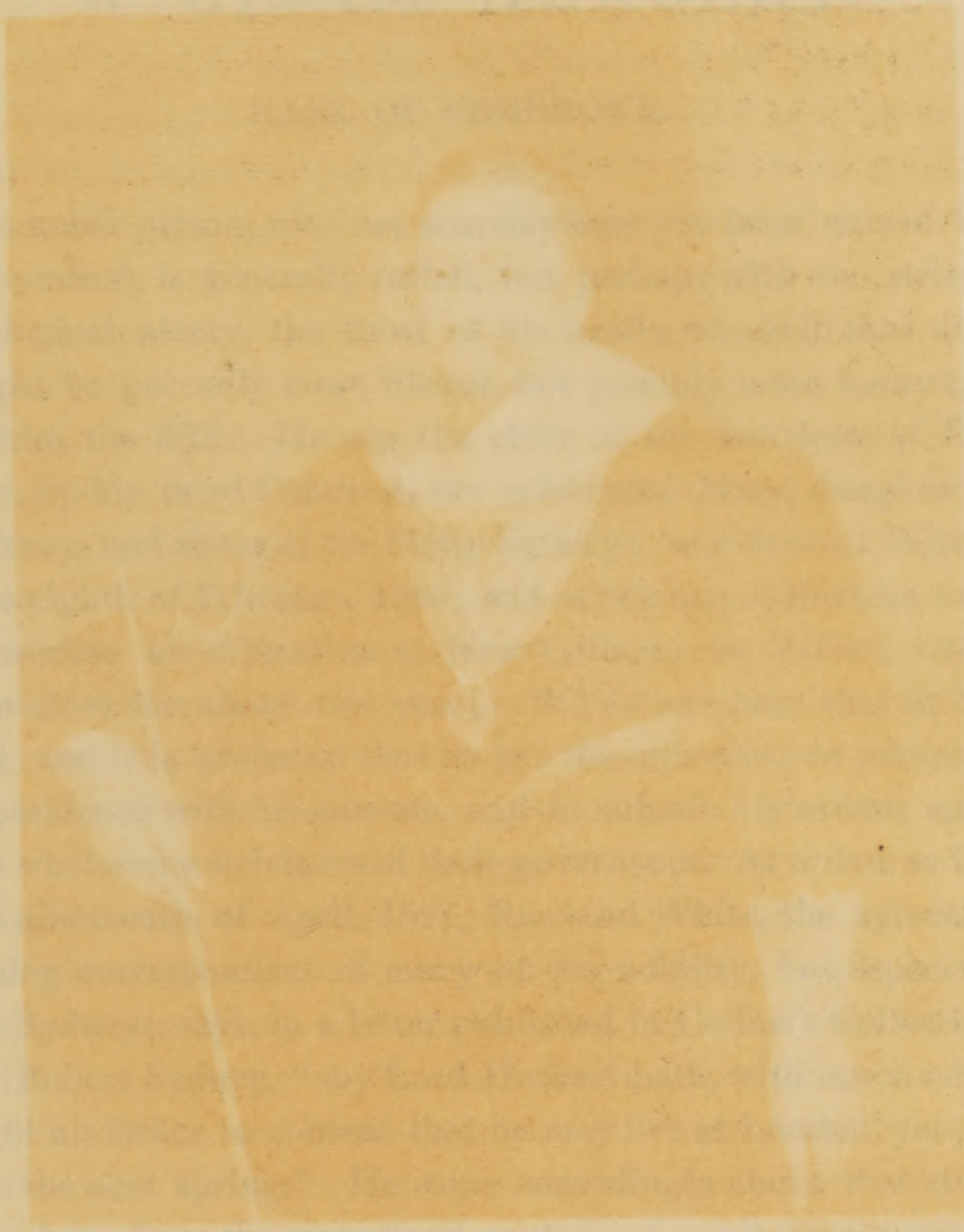
WILLIAM HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE.

OB. 1630.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

London Published Dec.r 1.1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



WILLIAM HERBERT,

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

This noble person, who has scarcely ever yet been named but to be praised, is generally called, but perhaps with too strict a genealogical nicety, the third of his family who held that title: it might be not only more liberal, but possibly more correct, to style him the fifth. He was the elder of the two sons of Earl Henry, by his third Countess, the celebrated Mary, daughter of Sir Henry, and sister of Sir Philip Sydney; was born at Wilton, on the eighth of February, 1580; and at the age of thirteen went to complete his education at New College, in Oxford, where he remained for about two years. We do not hear that he travelled, and it is probable that he left the university to take up a long residence with his parents, and to submit his ardent spirit to the wholesome strictness of their governance. At a date so late as the nineteenth of April, 1597, Rowland White, the agreeably gossiping correspondent of many of the nobility, but especially of the Sydneys, says, in a letter published in Collins's Collection, to Sir Robert Sydney, "my Lord Harbert hath, with much adoe, brought his father to consent that he may live at London, yet not before the next spring." He came accordingly about that time, and we have from the same hand, a chain of small circumstances which sufficiently let us into his history for the two following years, narrated with that delightful freshness of unstudied relation which renders the intelligence of private letters so peculiarly interesting.—He arrives in the summer of 1599, during a sudden levy of troops on the rumour of a Spanish invasion—intreats his father to lend him armour and a steed—is named to attend the Queen's person, with two hundred horse—lives amidst the musters,

and " swaggers it among the men of warre"—becomes a courtier, and is blamed " for his cold and weak manner of pursuing her Majesty's favour"—is accounted a melancholy young man—is at length highly favoured by her, and expected " to prove a great man in court"—prepares for masquing and tilting; " my Lord Harbert," says White, in one of those epistles to Sir Robert, in the autumn of 1600, " resolves this year to shew himself a man of arms, and prepares for it; and, because yt is his first tyme of running, yt were good he came in with some excellent devyse;" and, in a following letter, " my Lord Harbert is practising at Greenwich: he leapes; he daunces; he sings; he give counter-buffes; he makes his horse run with more speede,"&c. We descry in these small notices the dawnings of those bright features of character which afterwards distinguished him—an eager and lofty spirit: an indignant disdain of the common arts of a court; a disposition to serious reflection; and a cheerful readiness to cultivate favour which he might honourably acquire. Elizabeth easily discovered the merit which he scorned to force upon her notice, and, had she lived longer, he would, doubtless, have held a prominent station on the page of history.

On the nineteenth of January, 1600-1, he succeeded to his father's dignities, and was among the first Knights of the Garter elected after the accession of James. His qualities, however, were not of that light and pliant order which usually bespoke favour in that Prince's court. He was appointed Governor of Portsmouth in 1609, but had no office worthy of his rank till 1615, when he succeeded Carre, Earl of Somerset, in that of Lord Chamberlain of the Household. He was afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Wood, who is most likely to be right on that head, informs us that he was unanimously chosen in 1626, but several other writers date his election to the Chancellorship in 1615. About the time that he acquired that dignity, he resigned his appointment of Lord Chamberlain, to enable James to give it to his brother Philip, who afterwards succeeded him in

the Earldom, and accepted in lieu of it that of Steward of the Household; and in 1630 received from Charles the first the offices of Warden and Chief Justice of the forests south of Trent, and Warden of the Stanneries. Of all the great men, however, of his time Lord Pembroke took the least concern in public affairs, for the qualities of his mind and heart were wholly irreconcileable to the character, always weak, frequently base, and too often wicked, of the reigns in which he flourished. What we know of him we owe therefore to the reverence and affection in which he was held, not as a statesman or a courtier, but for all those excellencies which constitute, in the large and original sense of the phrase, a perfect gentleman. His Character, as Lord Orford justly observes, "is not only one of the most amiable in Lord Clarendon's history, but is one of the best drawn;" nor can the report of the great historian be ascribed to the political partiality with which he has been sometimes charged, Lord Pembroke having died long before the commencement of the rebellion. That beautiful piece has been of late years more than once republished, but these pages must not therefore be deprived of so useful an ornament.

"William, Earl of Pembroke," says Lord Clarendon, "was the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of that age, and having a great office in the court, he made the court itself better esteemed, and more reverenced in the country; and as he had a great number of friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself his enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of learning, and a ready wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it; of a pleasant and facetious humour, and a disposition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was master of a great fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by his wife, which he enjoyed during his life, she outliving him; but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly.

He lived many years about the court before in it, and never by it, being rather regarded and esteemed by King James than loved and favoured. After the foul fall of the Earl of Somerset he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's house, more for the court's sake than his own, and the court appeared with the more lustre because he had the government of that province. As he spent and lived upon his own fortune, so he stood upon his own feet, without any other support than of his proper virtue and merit, and lived towards the favourites with that decency as would not suffer them to censure or reproach his master's judgment and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the court, because he never desired to get that for himself which others laboured for, but was still ready to promote the pretences of worthy men; and he was equally celebrated in the country, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt or sway his affections and judgment; so that all who were displeased and unsatisfied in the court, or with the court, were always inclined to put themselves under his banner, if he would have admitted them; and yet he did not so reject them as to make them chuse another shelter, but so far suffered them to depend on him, that he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments and murmurs.

" He was a great lover of his country, and of the religion and justice which he believed could only support it, and his friendships were only with men of those principles; and as his conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts and understanding, so towards any such who needed support or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was placed in a court that was fitter for that soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that air; yet his memory must not be flattered, that his virtues and good inclinations may be believed. He was not without some allay of vice, and without being clouded with great infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He

indulged to himself the pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delight (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his wife's fortune by taking her person into the bargain) he was immoderately given up: but therein he likewise retained such a power and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that he was not so much transported with beauty, and outward allurements, as with those advantages of the mind as manifested an extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed himself, his precious time, and much of his fortune; and some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension that his natural vivacity and vigour of mind begun to lessen and decline by those excessive indulgencies."

Anthony Wood, by placing him in other points of view, exhibits to us new graces in a character to which lord Clarendon had already invited so much respect. "He was," says Wood, "the very picture and viva effigies of nobility; a person truly generous: a singular lover of learning, and the professors thereof, and therefore by the academians elected their Chancellor. His person was rather majestic than elegant, and his presence, whether quiet or in motion, was full of stately gravity. His mind was purely heroic: often stout, but never disloyal; and so vehement an opposer of the Spaniard, that when that match fell under consideration in the latter end of the reign of King James the first, he would sometimes rouse, to the trepidation of that King; yet kept in favour still, for his Majesty knew plain dealing, as a jewel in all men, so was in a Privy Counseller an ornamental duty; and the same true heartedness commended him to King Charles the first. He was not only a great favourer of learned and ingenious men, but was himself learned; and endowed to admiration with a poetical genie, as by those amorous and not inelegant airs and poems of his composition doth evidently appear; some of

which had musical notes set to them by Henry Lawes, and Nicholas Laneare. All that he hath extant were published with this title—'Poems, written by William, Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are answered by Sir Benjamin Rudyard; with other poems written by them, occasionally and apart.'"

The little volume here referred to by Wood made its appearance under singular circumstances. Lord Pembroke, in the chivalrous spirit of earlier days, had elected as the goddess of his chaste idolatry Christian, daughter of Lord Bruce, afterwards the celebrated Countess of Devonshire, and addressed to her numerous poetical effusions. These she had carefully preserved, and, when verging on old age, put them into the hands of Dr. Donne, to be prepared by him for the press. Donne dedicated them to herself, and it is difficult at this time to conceive any thing more ridiculous than that a widow of sixty should have connived at the publication of so gross an offering to vanity as that with which the dedication concludes—"The church that covers his sacred ashes must submit to time, and at last lie buried with him; but this monument that your Ladyship hath erected to his memory will outlast the calculations of all astrologers; who, though they could foretel the time that he should leave us, could set no date to the fame that he would leave behind him; which though it hath lain asleep in all this noise of drums and trumpets, when all the muses seemed to be fled, and to have left nothing behind them but a few lame iambics, canting at the corners of our desolate streets, yet they are now contented to be awakened by your Ladyship's command, and under your patronage to come abroad, and meet and salute that place that gave them their first being; and to tell the world that whatever was excellently said to any lady in all these poems was meant of you, and, that the poet himself being inspired by your Ladyship, you only, that are descended from an ancient and royal family, have the right and power to give life and perpetuity to so noble a person." These poems, as might be expected, are, with one or two small excep-

tions, of the amatory class; but they exhibit powers of mind, and of expression, which could not have been but successfully applied to higher and graver themes, and are graced by an elegance of language, and a correctness of versification, of which his time affords but few examples. His editor, Donne, must have blushed for the miserable homeliness of his own muse when he copied such lines as these—

" Wrong not, dear Empress of my heart,
The merits of true passion,
With thinking that he feels no smart
Who sues for no compassion;

Since, if my plaints seem not to prove
The conquest of thy beauty,
It comes not from defect of love,
But from excess of duty.

For, knowing that I sue to serve
A saint of such perfection
As all desire, but none deserve,
A place in her affection,

I rather chuse to want relief
Than venture the revealing;
Where glory recommends the grief,
Despair destroys the healing.

Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words though ne'er so witty:
The beggar that is dumb, you know,
May challenge double pity.

Then wrong not, dear heart of my heart,
My true, though secret passion.
He smarteth most that hides his smart,
And sues for no compassion."

Or the following; addressed to a lady weeping.

" Dry those fair, those crystal eyes,
Which like growing fountains rise
To drown their banks; grief's sullen brooks
Would better flow from furrow'd looks:
Thy lovely face was never meant
To be the seat of discontent.

Then clear those wat'rish stars again,
That else portend a lasting rain,
Lest the clouds that settle there
Prolong my winter all the year,
And thy example others make
In love with sorrow for thy sake."

To these specimens, which have been inserted by Mr. Park, in his late edition of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, I will venture to add two others, from the original. The first, for the varied ingenuity used in the expression of a very common, however false observation.

" Disdain me still, that I may ever love,
For who his love enjoys can love no more:
The war once past, with peace men cowards prove,
And ships return'd lie rotting on the shore,
Then, though thou frown, I'll say thou art most fair;
And still I'll love, though still I must despair.

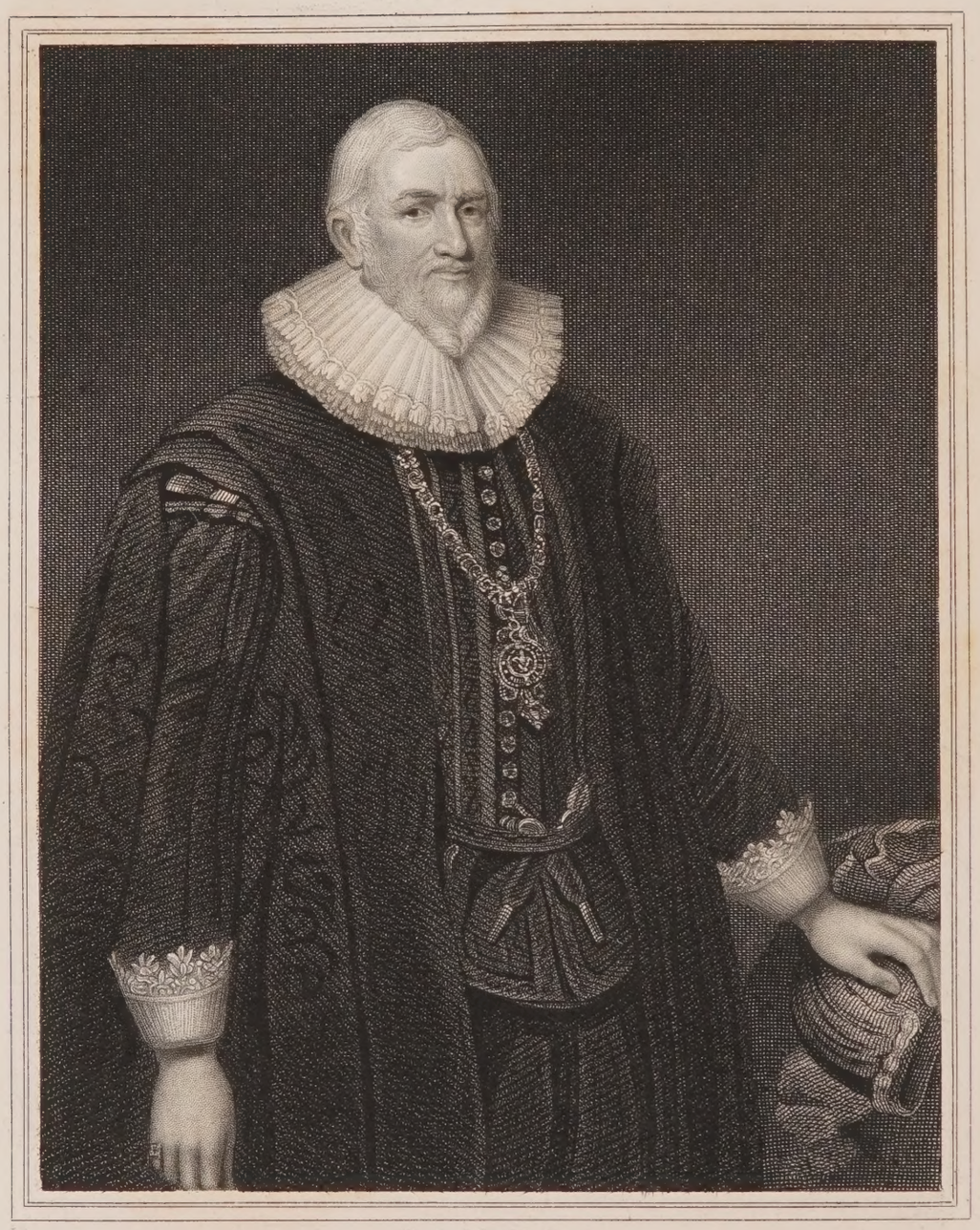
As heat's to life so is desire to love,
For these once quench'd both life and love are done.
Let not my sighs nor tears thy virtue move;
Like basest metals do not melt too soon.
Laugh at my woes, although I ever mourn.
Love surfeits with reward: his nurse is scorn."

The second, on his lady singing, chiefly for the admirable taste and correctness with which it characterises the melodies of certain birds: and to those who may accuse me of attempting to dignify trifles, let me answer that it is, perhaps, in the treatment of such trifles that we find the surest indications of expanded genius; of quick and comprehensive observation.

" Shepherd, gentle shepherd, hark,
As one that canst call rightest
Birds by their name,
Both wild and tame,
And in their notes delightest.
What voice is this, I prithee mark,
With so much music in it?
Too sweet methinks to be a lark,
Too loud to be a linnet.
Nightingales are more confus'd,
And descant more at random;
Whose warbling throats,
To hold out notes,
Their airy tunes abandon.
Angels stoop not now a'days;
Such choristers forsake us:
Though syrens may
Our loves betray,
And wretched prisoners make us.
Yet they must use some other way
Than singing, to deprive us
Of our poor lives, since such sweet lays
As these would soon revive us."

This nobleman married Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury of the Talbots, and had by her two sons; James, born in 1616, and Henry, in 1621, neither of whom survived infancy. He died suddenly, at Baynard Castle, on the tenth of April, 1630, and was buried in the cathedral of Salisbury. The time of his death, which perhaps I should not have mentioned here but that it may serve to explain a passage in the extract given above from Donne's dedication, is said to have been doubly predicted. " He died," says Wood, " according to the calculation of his nativity, made several years before, by Mr. Thomas Allen, of Gloucester Hall;" and Lord Clarendon relates,

with much exactness of circumstance, that, on the evening of the day of his departure, it was observed in a party of his friends who were supping together at an inn on their way to London, that "he had now outlived the day which his tutor, Sandford, had prognosticated upon his nativity he would not outlive." Granger informs us of a lamentable tradition in the family, that when his body was opened, in order to be embalmed, upon the incision being made, he lifted up one of his hands.



Engraved by J. Cochran.

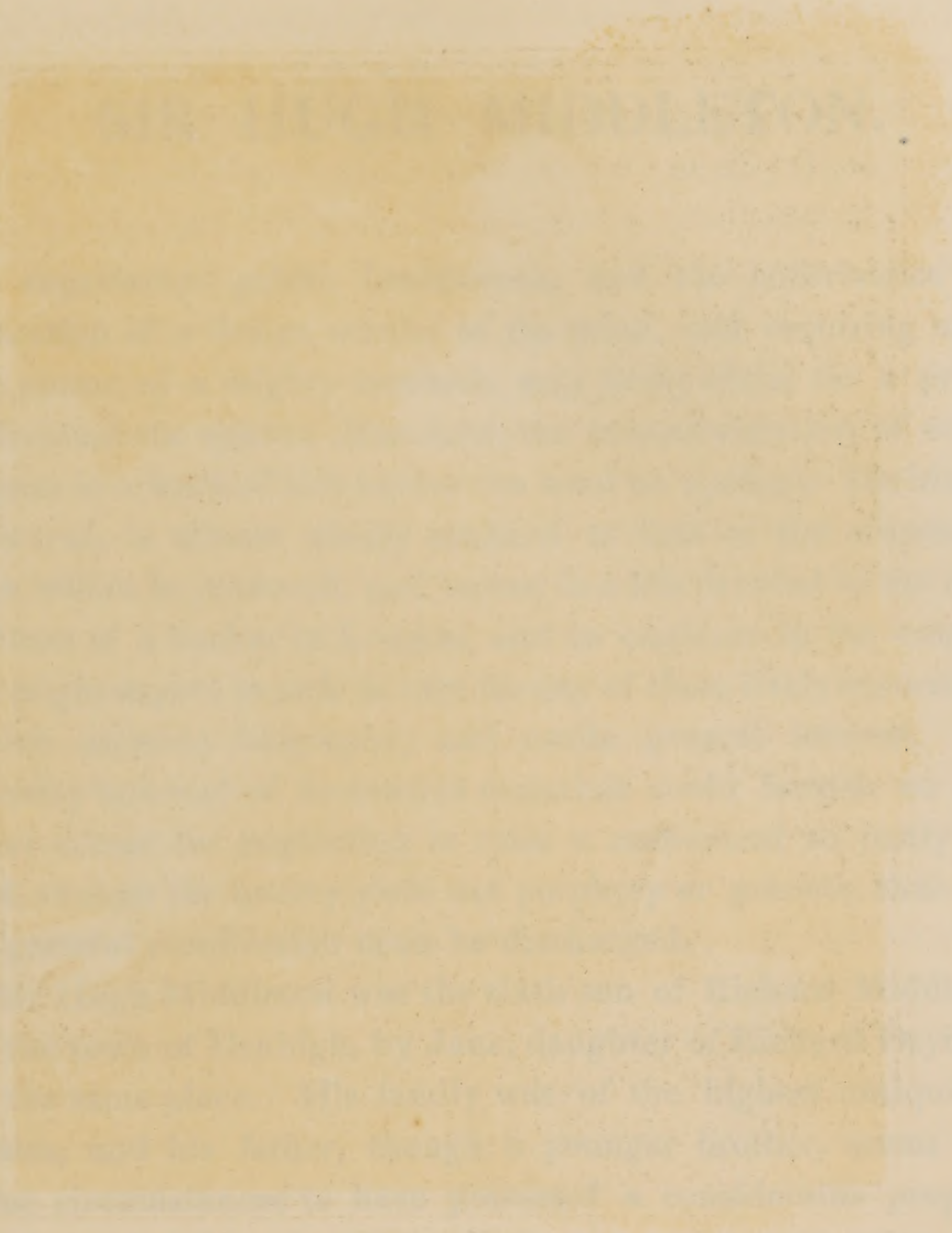
SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

OB. 1631.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN

GOLDSMITH'S HALL, LONDON.

London, Published June 1, 1831, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

If superlative public beneficence, and the contrivance and execution of a design worthy of the mind, and requiring nearly the power, of a mighty monarch, may justly claim for a private individual the epithet illustrious, the commemoration of such a person in a work of this nature can need no apology. His history, it is true, is almost wholly confined to that of the stupendous task which he achieved, and indeed in a life devoted to the occupations of a banker in London, and an engineer in the country, we might expect to seek in vain for any of those lively occurrences which animate biography, and excite general interest. The scarcity however of decorative materials could furnish no sufficient excuse for neglecting to raise a monument so justly due, and, though the quarry yield not porphyry or granate, that debt of grateful recollection must be discharged.

Sir Hugh Middleton was the sixth son of Richard Middleton, of the town of Denbigh, by Jane, daughter of Richard Dryhurst, of the same place. His family was of the highest antiquity in Wales, and his father, though a younger brother, seems from some circumstances to have possessed a considerable property, yet, being burthened with a very numerous progeny, nine sons, and four daughters, he found it convenient to devote two of the younger, Thomas and Hugh, to commerce, and for that purpose sent them to London, where Hugh became a member of the company of goldsmiths, and exercised that trade. Of his success in it we are not informed, but certain it is that the main source of the great wealth of which he became possessed was in his own country. As soon as he had acquired sufficient property in his business to enable him to prosecute hopefully such an under-

taking, he obtained from the company of the mines royal the lease of a copper mine, for such only had it been esteemed, in the county of Cardigan, at an annual rent of four hundred pounds. With a natural inclination for such pursuits, and the aid of some experience, for he had busied himself much in the earlier part of his life in searching for coal near his native place, he applied himself so successfully to this new work as to discover a vein of silver, which is said to have yielded, we are not told for how many years, a produce from which he gained the enormous sum of two thousand pounds monthly.

Thus suddenly and greatly enriched, he determined to adopt the celebrated scheme for the better supply of water to London, through the means of that artificial stream so well known by the name of the New River. I say adopt, because it had been long before projected. The corporation of London had obtained an act of parliament so early as the tenth year of Elizabeth, and two others, in the third and fourth of James, authorising them to form an aqueduct from any part of Middlesex or Hertfordshire to that city, but no man or body of men, had hitherto been found hardy enough to undertake a work the difficulty and hazard of which were little less formidable than the expence. Middleton at length stood forward alone, and on the first of April, 1606, the city assigned to him and his heirs all the powers and priveleges conferred by those statutes. Nearly two years were passed in surveying the various waters of the two counties, and in necessary experiments and deliberations, when two springs, the one in the parish of Amwell, in Herts; the other, called Chadwell, near the town of Ware, were chosen; and on the first of February, 1608, the great operation was actually commenced.

The New River is so well known that it would be superfluous to give here any detailed account of it. Suffice it to say that, having united the two streams as near to their respective sources as the nature of the ground would permit, he led it on its winding course, sometimes in deep channels, cut often with enormous

labour through stubborn soils; sometimes raised aloft on arches; building over it (a number since considerably diminished) eight hundred bridges of various dimensions; and seldom employing fewer than six hundred workmen. When it had reached Enfield his wealth was nearly exhausted. He requested aid from the Lord Mayor and commonalty of the city, and, on being basely refused, besought it of the Crown. James, with more caution however than liberality, assented, and agreed, by an indenture under the Great Seal, dated the second of May, 1612, to pay half the expence of the whole, in consideration of an assignment of a moiety of the profits, which Middleton readily executed. He delivered accordingly into the Treasury an account of his disbursements, and received from the King between the years 1612 and 1614 six thousand, three hundred, and forty-seven pounds, which seems to have been all that was at any time paid under that agreement; though a pamphlet of the day makes the sum nearly eight thousand. The work was now prosecuted with increased alacrity, and on Michaelmas-day, 1613, this marvellous stream, the sinuous course of which extends thirty-nine miles, fell first into the cistern at Islington, now known by the name of the "New River Head."

We are not informed, and it is most difficult to conceive, what obstacles could have prevented the unbounded success of such an undertaking. The whole of London had till now derived its supply of water from sixteen public conduits, together with partial aids from the Thames, raised by imperfect and awkward machinery: custom however seems to have reconciled the sluggish citizens to the inconvenience, and strenuous endeavours, the motives to which it is not easy to guess, are said to have been made to depreciate, as well by ridicule as argument, the advantages promised by the accomplishment of this grand design. It was not till 1619 that the parties chiefly interested in it obtained sufficient encouragement to induce them to apply for a charter of incorporation; but on the twenty-first of June in that year,

the King granted Letters patent to Hugh Middleton; to his brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, an Alderman of London; Sir Henry Montague, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Ralph, son of Hugh Middleton; and twenty-three others; constituting them a public society, by the style of the "Governors and Company of the New River, brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London." On the twenty-second of October, 1622, James testified his peculiar approbation of the work, and of its author, by conferring on him the title of Baronet.

This empty honour was the sole recompense that poor Middleton ever received. He became embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and is said to have been compelled by his necessities to adopt the business of an ordinary surveyor, a report which the terms of his last will seem completely to invalidate. He had divided his moiety of the property into thirty-six shares, of which he retained thirteen for himself, but so unprosperous were the affairs of the company, that no dividend was made till 1633, and then not to the amount of twelve pounds on each share. The second scarcely exceeded a fourth part of that sum; and, instead of a third, it was becoming necessary to make further disbursements, when Charles the first, on the eighteenth of November, 1636, reconveyed, not to Sir Hugh, as we find invariably and most erroneously stated, for he died five years before that date, but probably to his heir, the moiety formerly assigned to the Crown, in consideration of a fee farm rent of five hundred pounds annually, out of the profits of the company. Such are the variations in the value of property of this nature that a single share has been of late years sold for fifteen thousand pounds.

Sir Hugh Middleton died between the twenty-first of November, 1631, on which day his will is dated, and the twenty-first of the following month when it was proved. He had been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of a Mr. Collins, of Lichfield, and widow of Richard Edwards, of London, who died childless; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Olmsted, of Ingatestone,

in Essex, by whom he had ten sons, and six daughters. The sons were Thomas and Hugh, who died unmarried; William, who inherited his father's title; James, Henry, Robert, Bartholomew, John, Ralph, and Simon. From these, with the exception of the last, all issue is apparently extinct; but Jabez Middleton, a lineal descendant from Simon, remains, and is, or lately was, a petitioner to that wealthy body which now enjoys the fruit of the exertions of his meritorious and enterprising ancestor, for some small pittance to rescue his old age from the necessity of labour. The daughters of Sir Hugh were Elizabeth, Jane, another Elizabeth, Anne, Esther, and Mary; of whom we have little information but that the first died in childhood, that the second was married to Peter Chamberlain, Doctor of Physic, and the fifth to Richard Price. Some few particulars indeed relative to them occur in his will, of which, as it has not hitherto been published, a short abstract shall close this sketch.

He desires to be buried in the parish church of St. Matthew, in London, of which he was sometime an inhabitant; bequeaths to his wife Elizabeth, all the "chains, rings, jewels, pearls, bracelets, and gold buttons, which she hath in her custody, and useth to wear at festivals; and the deep silver basin, spout pot, maudlin cup, and small bowl." To his son William, one hundred pounds, he having already had his full portion. To his daughter Jane, and her husband, Doctor Chamberlain, ten pounds each. His daughter Esther "having had already one thousand pounds, in part of her portion of nineteen hundred, and the other nine hundred being detained till the articles on the part of the Lady Price are performed which were agreed on in the behalf of her grandson, Richard Price, Esq.," he gives to that Richard, and to the said Esther his wife, ten pounds each, in addition to that nine hundred. To his sons Henry and Simon Middleton four hundred pounds each; and to each of his daughters, Elizabeth and Anne Middleton five hundred. To the poor of the Parish of Huellan, in which he was born, twenty pounds; the same sum to the town

of Denbigh; and five pounds to the parish of Amwell in Herts. To his nephew Captain Roger Middleton thirty pounds. To Richard Newell, and Howell Jones, thirty pounds each, " to the end that the former may continue his care in the works of the mines royal, and the latter in the water works," where they were then respectively employed. Directs that his shares in the mines royal, in the Principality of Wales, shall be sold. Gives to his wife the " profits of the New River," for her life, but directs that if the produce of the sale of his mine shares should be insufficient for the payment of his debts, such of the New River shares as shall make up the deficiency, not however exceeding four, shall be sold for that purpose. Gives, after the death of his wife, to his sons Henry and Simon, and his daughters Elizabeth and Anne, and their heirs respectively, one share each in the New River; and one share, in trust to ten persons, citizens and goldsmiths, to be divided among the poor of that company, at the rate of twelve pence weekly to each, " especially to such as shall be of his name, kindred, or country." Bequeaths his house at Bush-hills, Edmonton, and the furniture in it, to his wife, for her life, with remainder to his youngest son Simon, and his heirs; and gives her " the keeping and wearing of the great jewel given to him by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and, after her decease, to such one of his sons as she may think most worthy to wear and enjoy it." To his brother, Robert Bateman, twenty pounds: to Peter Hynde and his wife, twenty pounds: to Mr. William Lewyn, an annuity of twenty pounds; to his nephews Sir Thomas Middleton and Timothy Middleton, twenty pounds each; and to each of his men servants five pounds. He constitutes his wife sole executrix, and his brother Sir Thomas Middleton, knight, his brother Bateman, and his nephews Roger and Richard Middleton, overseers.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

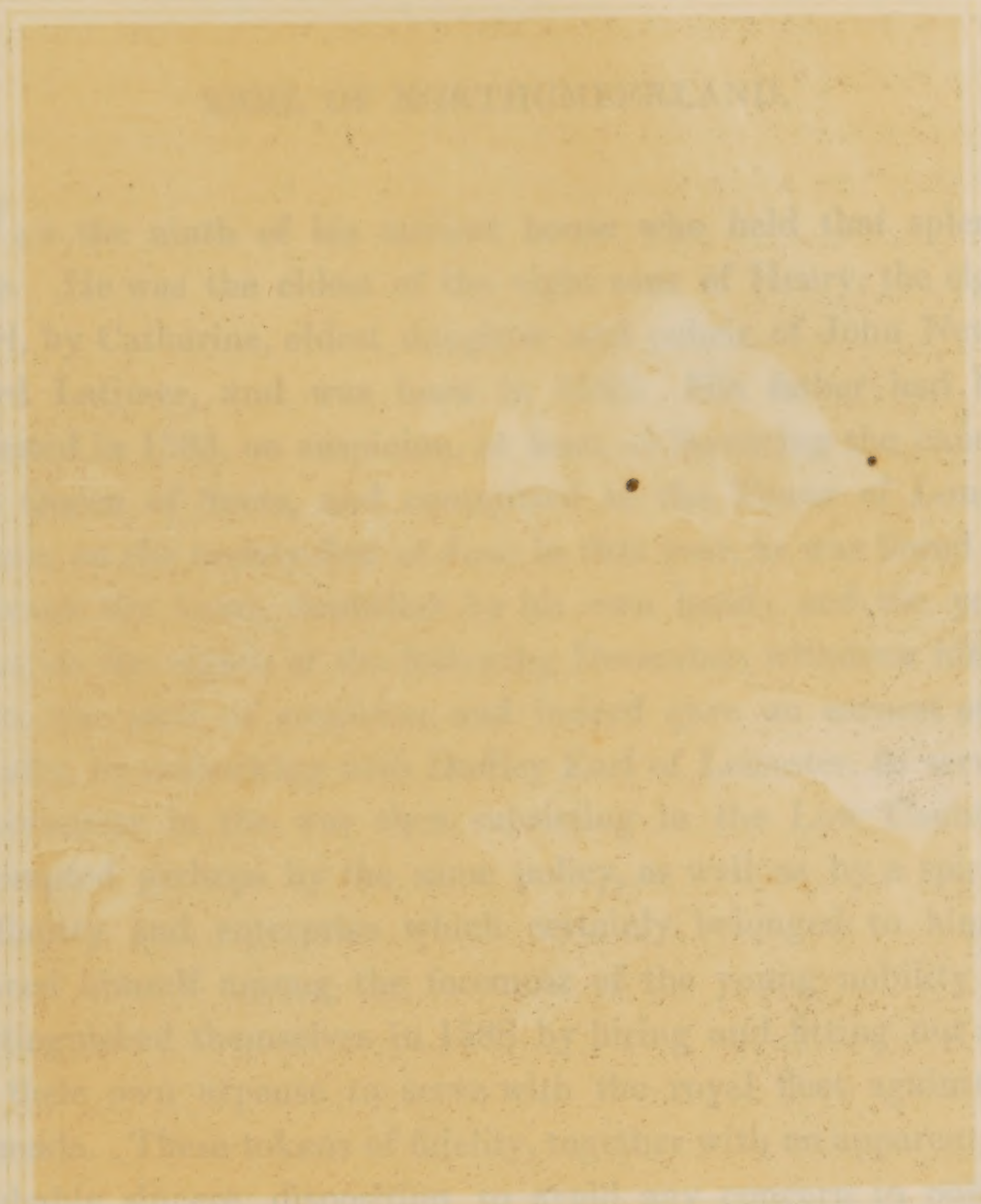
HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OB. 1632.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Sept^r 1, 1839, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



HENRY PERCY,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

Was the ninth of his ancient house who held that splendid title. He was the eldest of the eight sons of Henry, the eighth Earl, by Catharine, eldest daughter and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, and was born in 1563. His father had been arrested in 1585, on suspicion, at least, of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots, and committed to the Tower of London, where, on the twenty-first of June in that year, he was found shot through the heart, doubtless by his own hand; and the young Earl, on the eighth of the following December, withdrew himself from the peril of suspicion, and indeed gave an earnest of his loyalty, by embarking with Dudley Earl of Leicester, to serve as a volunteer in the war then subsisting in the Low Countries. Prompted perhaps by the same policy, as well as by a spirit of gallantry and enterprise which certainly belonged to him, he placed himself among the foremost of the young nobility who distinguished themselves in 1588 by hiring and fitting out ships at their own expense to serve with the royal fleet against the Armada. These tokens of fidelity, together with an apparent, and probably sincere, disposition to avoid any concern in political affairs, and to devote his leisure to study, in which he delighted, seem at length to have gained him no small share of the good opinion of Elizabeth. She gave him the order of the Garter in 1593, and in 1599 joined him in commission with other eminent persons, to enforce in the province of York the observance of the statutes ordaining the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, the uniformity of the common prayer, and of divine service in general, the restraint of Popish recusants, and several other regulations

touching the government of the Church. It is needless to say that he was a stedfast protestant. He volunteered his sword once more at the celebrated siege of Ostend, in 1601, and had there a private quarrel with the gallant Sir Francis Vere, the angry correspondence subsequently produced by which, interestingly illustrative of the method then used in adjusting what we now call "an affair of honour," is detailed at great length, from an original manuscript, in the supplement, published in 1750, to Collins's Peerage.

Averse as he seems to have been to public business and state intrigue, he had too much ambition to look on in indifference and inactivity while so many of the nobility at the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign were pressing forward to pay their court to her successor. He attached himself with peculiar zeal to the cause of James, to whose favour the sufferings of his family for Mary, particularly of his two immediate predecessors, had given him the strongest claim, and who readily opened a secret negotiation with him on the means of securing the inheritance of the Crown. The agent of their intercourse was the Earl's kinsman, Thomas Percy, through whom Northumberland is said to have supplied the King from time to time with money, and even to have engaged to resist by force of arms any opposition which might be offered to his succession. Percy, too, who was a zealous Romanist, undertook, with the Earl's concurrence, to treat for the leaders of that persuasion with James, who, in his eagerness to gain over so powerful a body to his interest, hesitated not to give the clearest assurances of his future favour to them. He admitted Percy to his most familiar intimacy, and instructed him to commission his brother to cultivate to his utmost the good understanding thus commenced with them, which Northumberland readily undertook. While these matters were in agitation Elizabeth died, and the Privy Council chose his brother, Sir Charles Percy, to convey the intelligence of that event to James, who in his answer commanded that the Earl should be immediately

sworn a member of that body. He met the King on his road to London; was received by him with marked distinction; and was soon after appointed Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, then esteemed an office of considerable dignity in the royal household.

Hitherto all was well, but a frightful reverse of fortune awaited him. James, on his arrival in England, found the protestants so ready to admit his title and himself that he resolved, with a scandalous facility, not only to break the verbal engagements for indulgence and toleration which he had so lately made to the Papists, but even in a manner to sacrifice them to his new friends, by enforcing the penal statutes against recusants; and the Earl of Northumberland, little to his credit, condescended to suffer his name to stand in the commission issued to certain Lords of the Council for that purpose. The rage of the disappointed Catholics at this treachery may easily be conceived. Some share of it fell on Northumberland, but its chief object was their chosen and peculiar agent, Thomas Percy, whom they conceived to have deliberately betrayed them from the beginning, and the bitterness of their unremitting reproaches, operating on a temper at once furious and melancholy, is said to have led this unhappy man to join in the contrivance of that stupendously monstrous scheme of revenge, the Gunpowder Treason of 1605.

Percy, as is well known, died fighting against those who were sent to capture him and the other conspirators, and the Earl was immediately commanded to keep his house, and presently after committed to the custody of Archbishop Bancroft, from which, on the twenty-seventh of November, he was removed to the Tower. The annals of tyranny and injustice scarcely furnish a parallel to the iniquitous prosecution, and severe sentence, that followed. Exactly seven months after, he was arraigned in the Star-chamber on the following charges—That he had endeavoured to place himself at the head of the Papists, and to procure them toleration, (which, as we have seen, was not only with James's

privity, but at his express request)—that he had admitted Percy into the King's Band of Pensioners without administering to him the oath of supremacy, knowing him to be a recusant—that he had written after the discovery of the plot to his agents in Yorkshire, to prevent Percy, whom he supposed had fled thither, from taking up any of his money, without giving them any order for apprehending the said Percy—that he had presumed to write and send letters, without the permission of the King or Council, during his imprisonment—and that he had given to Percy a watch-word, and intelligence, for his escape. It may be certainly inferred from the tenor of a large collection of subsequent petitions and letters from this unfortunate nobleman to James and his ministers, which are also preserved in Collins's supplement, not only that of these despicable articles scarcely any were proved, but that he was in fact altogether blameless: yet he was adjudged to be removed from the Privy Council, from his post of Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and from his provincial Lieutenancies; disabled from holding in future any public office; fined in the enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for his life.

There is good reason to suspect that Northumberland owed this horrible sentence to the jealousy and malice of Cecil, operating on the timid temper of the King. In his negotiations with James, before the death of Elizabeth, he not only became necessarily a competitor with that minister, the activity of whose intrigues at that time with the Scottish King is well known, but made Raleigh and Cobham, between whom and Cecil an entire hatred subsisted, his coadjutors. In a curious little volume of "The secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James the sixth, King of Scotland," published at Edinburgh, about fifty years since, by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, we have abundant proof of the pains taken by Cecil's party to bias that Prince's opinion against these eminent persons, whom Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, Cecil's prime agent to that

effect, and writer of most of those letters, denominates in one of them "that diabolical triplicity." James, therefore, in spite of decent appearances, probably ascended the throne with as strong prejudices towards Northumberland as it is well known he entertained against the other two, and through a dextrous use of this disposition, thus artfully infused into the King's mind, Northumberland was now sacrificed to a bare suspicion of some knowledge of the Gunpowder Treason with the same facility as Raleigh and Cobham had been two years before to the mysterious plot in favour of Arabella Stuart. This however is no place for lengthened conjecture, or enlarged disquisition. The Earl was committed accordingly to the Tower, but he contrived to stave off for some years the payment of any part of the fine, when it was at length conceded that it should be abated to twenty thousand pounds, to be paid by three thousand annually. He demurred to this proposal, and in 1611 all his estates were seized in the name of the Crown, and leased out till the rents should produce that sum. He resented this rigorous proceeding by a letter to the Earl of Salisbury so affecting and so high spirited, not to mention the evident allusions with which it commences to that minister's rancour against him, that it necessarily demands a place in this memoir.

"My Lord,

I understand that his Majesty, by your Lordship's advice, for soe the woords of the leases import, hath granted leases to the receivers of severall countys, under the Exchequer seal, of all my lands, for the levying of a fine imposed upon me. Your Lordship's sickness hath been a cause of my forbearing to write or sende; for I holde it neither charitable nor honest in one's owne particular to urge a remorse of conscience whereby the spirit of a dying man may be troubled, but rather to forgive under silence: but, since now your Lordship is upon recovery, and that the world confidently affirmeth you are out of danger, and that my business draws to so nigh a pointe of execution, let

me put you in mind that this part you had like to have playd must come again to your acting at one tyme or other, for your foote must in the ende touch the grave; and I know no man, be he never so free a libertine, but loves to leave a memory of good deeds rather than of badd, yf there weare nothing else to be regarded.

The thing itself that is in hande is extraordinary, and not to be paralleld; for, first, it is the greatest fine that ever was imposed upon subject. Fines upon no man hath been taken near the censures, but first much quallified; then installed at easie conditions. To be levied in this fashion is not used; or if lett, yett for the benefitt of the owner, and not to his ruin. By this course is taken I see not but receivers may make what accompts they liste; pay the King at leisure, yett I not quitted of halfe that is gathered; my lands spoiled; my houses ruinated; my suits in law receive prejudice; my officers imprisoned that stand bound for me; my debts unsatisfyed; relief by borrowing taken away; my brothers and servants must suffer; my wife, children, and myself, must starve; for the receivers are by their leases to accompt but once in the yeare, for which service of gathering they have their reward 2*s.* in the pound, besides gaine in retayning the money in their handes, and commoditys many ways else. In all this provision for them I find not a thought of one penny, either for wife, child, or myself; so as there wants nothing but strowing the land with salt to make it a pattern of severe punishment; and whether these things should pearce into the hearte of a human man I leave to your Lordship to think of. I lay not downe these miserys, that must fall out of necessity, as amazed, or out of passion, for tyme hath made me very obedient to hard fortunes; but to give your Lordship a feeling of my cause, that hath ever seemed to me to be a patriot for the liberty of our country, and of our nobility, wherein we joyed to have you of our society, and not a producer of new precedents that must first or last fall on you or your's, or on those which you wish well unto,

and, generally, on all subjects. The extremity is so unusuall as none hears of it but wonders. For my own part, I hold this principle almost infallible—that were things are acted by wise men contrary to all reason, there may be concluded some misery to be hidden which appeares not, or somewhat desired secretly that will not be asked publickly.

Perhapps you will say the King commands this to be done. I know the King's commands in these money matters is oft to give, but seldom to take; and all the world knoweth the noblenes of his disposition, if but reason be sounded in his eares; for the nature of censures in the Starr Chamber are ad terrorem, not ad ruinam. Men are put into King's hands that they may use mercy, not rigour of sentence: and this hath been your Lordship's owne conceit of that court, as unwilling to be there farther than duty commanded, where nothing was to be pronounced but lashings and slashings, finings and imprisonings.

I write not nowe, neither have done any thing heretofore, out of willfullness, but merely out of fear how my acts or words might take interpretation; and whether I had cause or no I leave it to the knowledge of God, and the consciences of men: neither could any durance of my carcase, or discontentment of my mind, have stirred me up to deliver this, though but in private, had I not perceived an eminent approach of starving of a poore company of creatures that, for any thing I knowe, never wished you harme. And so, with my well wishes for your Lordship's strength, I rest your Lordship's poorest allie in England, for the tyme, for I have just nothing, as matters are handled.

NORTHUMBERLAND."

Feb. 2, 1611.

He submitted soon after to the payment of the mitigated fine; the leases were revoked; and before the end of the year 1614 he had discharged the whole of the twenty thousand pounds; but he was suffered yet for many years to linger in confinement. An attachment to literature and science, and a fondness for philoso-

phic society, happily beguiled his hard fate of much of its misery, and withdrew him for long intervals from the bitterness of unavailing regret. He was allowed a free intercourse with his illustrious fellow prisoner, the admirable Raleigh, from whom he was seldom separate. He delighted and excelled in the study of mathematics, and contrived, even under this depression, to maintain unimpaired the patronage which in his better days he had extended to several persons eminently skilled in that branch of learning. Nathaniel Torperley, a clergyman, Robert Hughes, Walter Warner, and Nicholas Hill, men of various literature, but all celebrated mathematicians, were regularly pensioned by him, and to them was added, by Raleigh's recommendation, Thomas Harriot, who had accompanied Sir Walter to Virginia, and made a survey of that colony. "Harriot, Hughes, and Warner," says Anthony Wood, "were his constant companions in the Tower, where they had a table at his charge, and were usually called the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi. Thomas Allen also," adds Wood, "an eminent antiquary, philosopher, and mathematician, was also courted to live in the family of that most noble and generous Count Henry, Earl of Northumberland, whereupon, spending some time with him, he was infinitely beloved and admired, not only by that Count, but by such artists who then lived with, or often retired to him, as Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torperley, &c. the Atlantes of the mathematic world." His zealous attachment to such studies, and perhaps to others more mystical, procured for him the denomination of "Henry the Wizard."

At length on the eighteenth of July, 1621, he was finally set at liberty, at the intercession, as is said, of one of James's minions, Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, who had married a few years before, against her father's consent, the celebrated Lucy Percy, youngest daughter to the Earl, with whom he now opened the way to a reconciliation, by this act of kindness and duty. Northumberland's health had been injured by his tedious confinement, but

the high spirit for which he was remarkable was unabated. His physicians advised him to use the waters of Bath, and he travelled thither through London in his coach drawn by eight horses, as a tacit reproof to the favourite Buckingham, who had of late commenced the vanity of using six. The remainder of his life was passed almost entirely in a dignified retirement at his seat of Petworth, in Sussex, where, notwithstanding his heavy loss, and the derangement of his affairs during his long restraint, he lived in great splendor till his death, on the fifth of November, a day already so fatal to him, in the year 1632. He was buried, with his ancestors, at Petworth.

Henry Earl of Northumberland married Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his family, who brought him four sons; two Henrys, who died in infancy; Algernon, his successor; and Henry, a nobleman of great merit, who was created by King Charles the first, Baron Percy of Alnwick, and died unmarried. They had also two daughters; Dorothy, wife of Robert, second Earl of Leicester of the Sidneys; and Lucy, whose marriage has been just now mentioned.

Engraved by W.T.Mote.

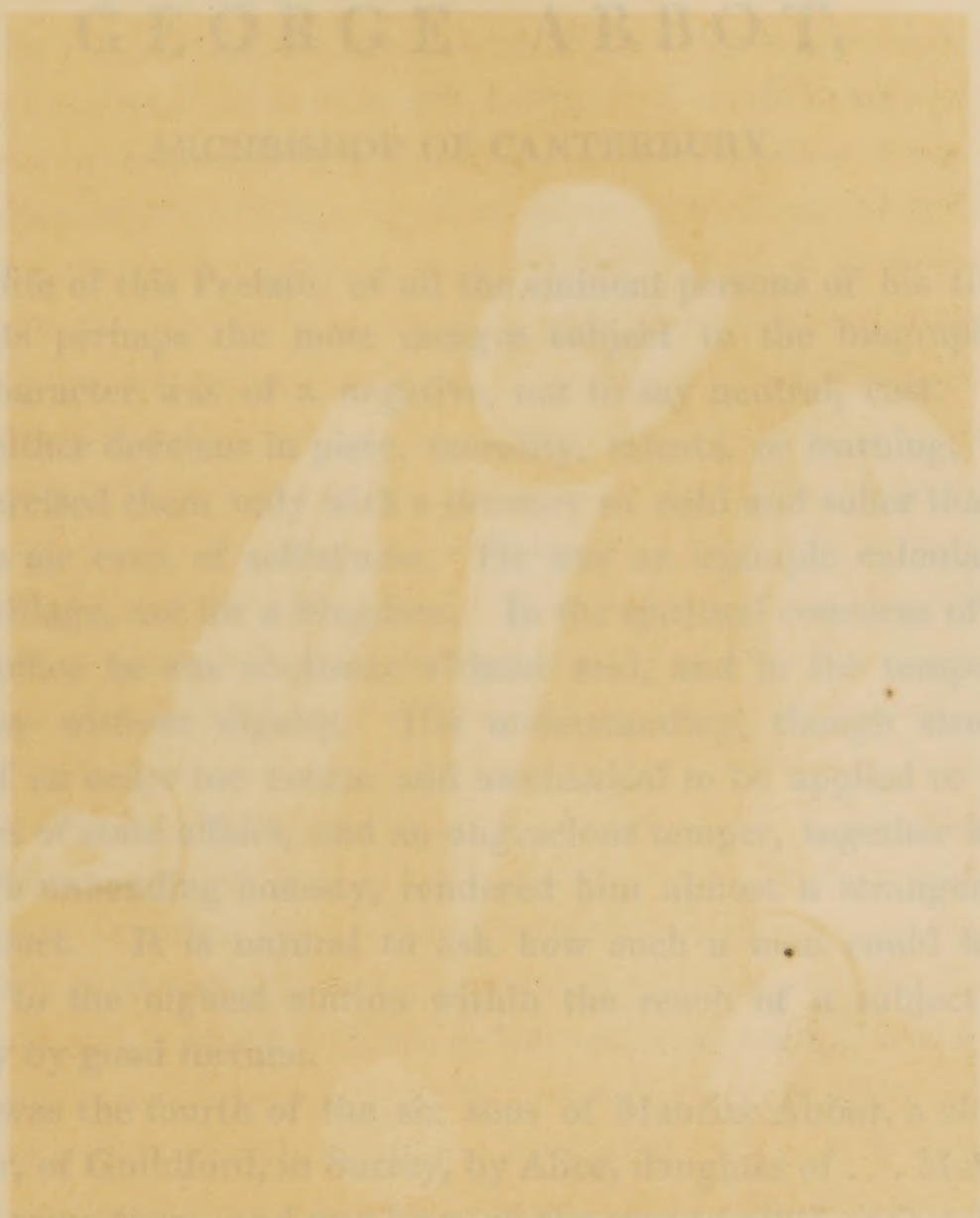
GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1633.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

London, Published May 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



GEORGE ABBOT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The life of this Prelate, of all the eminent persons of his time, presents perhaps the most meagre subject to the biographer. His character was of a negative, not to say neutral, cast. He was neither deficient in piety, morality, talents, or learning, but he exercised them only with a decency so cold and sober that it had an air even of selfishness. He was an example calculated for a village, not for a kingdom. In the spiritual concerns of his great office he was obstinate without zeal, and in the temporal haughty without dignity. His understanding, though strong, was of an order too coarse and mechanical to be applied to the niceties of state affairs, and an ungracious temper, together with a rough unbending honesty, rendered him almost a stranger to the Court. It is natural to ask how such a man could have arisen to the highest station within the reach of a subject?—Simply by good fortune.

He was the fourth of the six sons of Maurice Abbot, a cloth-worker, of Guildford, in Surrey, by Alice, daughter of . . . March, of the same town, and was born on the twenty-ninth of October, 1562. That lover of prodigies, the fantastical Aubrey, has recorded a ridiculous story of an omen of his future greatness that occurred to his mother during her pregnancy of him, which Aubrey tells us so much attracted the notice of some persons of quality that they voluntarily undertook the office of sponsors at his baptism. Among these it is said, improbably enough, that Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, was one: certain however it is that he acquired by some means the patronage of that nobleman at a very early age. His parents,

who we are told were zealous protestants, sent him to receive the rudiments of a learned education in the free school of their own town, and he was removed from thence in 1578 to Oxford, and entered a student at Baliol College, where he was admitted a Bachelor of Arts, and, about the year 1583, into holy orders, and soon after gained considerable reputation as a preacher. Having taken his degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, he was chosen in 1597 Master of University College, and seemed to have been destined solely to an academical life when, at Buckhurst's recommendation, he was in the spring of 1599 appointed Dean of Winchester. He remained however yet some years at Oxford, and was elected to the office of Vice-chancellor in the year 1600, 1603, and 1605.

The period of his residence in the University produced little to distinguish him, except that he had the honour of being included in the number of Oxford divines to whom in 1604 the translation of the New Testament was entrusted. His quarrel with Laud indeed, which was maintained with disgraceful rancour on both sides during the whole of his life, commenced thus early, and he signalized himself to the fanatical citizens of London by an invective against that fine monument of antiquity, the Cross in Cheapside, for the condemnation of which, as a mass of idolatry, they had appealed to the two Universities. He carried that point, in opposition to Bancroft, then Bishop of London, who was little less odious to him than Laud, and from this active demonstration of the sincerity of that hatred to the Church of Rome which was the constant theme of his public discourses, began to be considered by the puritans as a champion for the extravagancies of their notions of reformation. By the acquisition of this new character, such as it was, and the possession of his deanery, he had probably reached the summit of his expectations and hopes, for in 1608 he lost his friend, the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of his University, who died suddenly as he sat at the Council table.

To this seeming misfortune he probably owed all his future greatness, since it may be reasonably presumed that while Dorset lived Abbot would not have abandoned his patronage for that of another. But, feeling himself now at large, he readily accepted a proposal made to him by George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, a minister who merited and enjoyed a great share of James's favour, to accompany him in a journey to that country in the same year, 1608. The object of it was to endeavour to reconcile the Scots to an episcopal church, and the moderation, as it was called, of Abbot's conduct in ecclesiastical matters at home recommended him to the Earl as a hopeful instrument for that purpose. Thus his leaning to puritanism, which might have been fairly expected to impede his promotion, paved the way, as we shall find, to supreme advancement. He condescended to accept the appointment of chaplain to Dunbar; attended him into Scotland; and by well-timed concessions and persuasions did much towards procuring that temporary admission of a hierarchy which the Scots at that time rather tolerated than accepted. In addition to this service, he endeavoured while in Scotland to recommend himself to the King's private regard by writing such a treatise on that historical mystery, the Gowry plot, as he conceived would suit the monarch's taste, for which the trial and execution of Sprot, one of the conspirators, which occurred during his stay there, furnished the occasion. He succeeded, and the partiality which the King had already conceived towards him was fixed by Dunbar's report on their return of the sagacity and indefatigable pains which he had manifested in bringing the affairs of his mission to a fortunate termination.

James received him with the most distinguished approbation, and seemed determined to overwhelm him with favour; accordingly in April, 1609, he was appointed Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; on the twentieth of the following January, within one month after his consecration, translated to the see of London; and on the ninth of April, 1611, was placed in the throne of

Canterbury, vacant by the death of his old antagonist, Bancroft; and all this, says Lord Clarendon, "before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate, of any parish church in England; or Dean," (a singular contradiction to an established fact) "or Prebendary of any Cathedral Church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true constitution of the Church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy, as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward."

Neither the noble author however, nor any other who has spoken thus disadvantageously of Abbot, have ventured to question his sincerity, or to arraign his motives. His integrity was undoubted, and the praise was at all events due to him of an independent spirit, which, with the common fate of all natural dispositions, shed its influence as well on the errors as on the rectitude of his conduct. When James referred the remarkable question of the divorce of the Countess of Essex to a court of delegates, at the head of which the Primate was placed, he gave it his decided negative, in direct opposition to the will of the Monarch, to whom he stated his reasons. James condescended to argue with him in a letter of considerable length, but Abbot remained inflexible. When the King, in 1618, published his declaration called the Book of Sports, permitting certain pastimes on the Sabbath day, and commanded that it should be read in all churches in the realm, Abbot boldly forbade such publication of it in his diocese. James endured these contradictions with a patience honourable at once to the master and the servant. In the mean time it must be confessed that the Archbishop had been engaged in a negotiation signally inconsistent as well with the character of his nature as with the dignity and gravity of his public station. The King's attachment to Somerset was in the wane. A party, headed by the Queen, had devised a plan for his ruin, and a principal feature in it was the introduction of a new candidate for James's favour, possessed of those personal graces to the influence of which he so frequently and unaccountably

submitted. Abbot, who had long enjoyed the confidence of Anne, to this end presented to her the youthful George Villiers, whom she, after some consultation and argument with the Archbishop, the heads of which appear in a letter of his preserved by Rushworth, introduced to her husband. Of the particulars of this transaction however we are but indistinctly informed, doubtless because it was in no small degree disgraceful to all the parties concerned in it.

He interfered little, as has been already observed, in the affairs of the state. He took a very active part it is true in the long and warm deliberations of the years 1619 and 1620 on the question of the acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia by the Elector Palatine, the King's son in law, which he earnestly recommended; so too he opposed with equal steadiness, at a later date, the Spanish match; but these deviations into the field of politics arose simply from his hatred to Popery, the interests of which the one was evidently calculated to impair, and the other to advance. Here then he was in the proper exercise of his calling. Amidst these engagements, a singular and unfortunate accident befel him, which embittered considerably the remainder of his days. Being on a visit to the Lord Zouch, at his seat of Bramshill, in Hampshire, and joining what was then called a hunting party, in the park, an arrow which he had aimed at a buck from his cross-bow struck one of the keepers on the arm, and, dividing an artery, the man presently bled to death. However lamentable such a misfortune to any man, particularly to a prelate, Abbot's calamity was aggravated to the last degree by the tedious juridical discussion to which it was thought fit to subject it. To have indicted the Primate of manslaughter in the ordinary way would have been disgraceful to the Church, nor could James safely venture to provoke a retort from the Papists, who had been so bitterly reproached by the reformers for scandalously shielding their priesthood from deserved punishment, by a summary pardon in virtue of his prerogative. He referred the case therefore to a

court of singular construction, erected for the purpose by a special commission, consisting of five Bishops, three Judges of the common, and two of the civil, law. A speedy agreement in such an assembly was hopeless. Five months were passed in cavilling on mere subtilties, and at length the Commissioners, without having arrived at any clear decision on the law of the case, recommended it to the King to grant a special pardon, which passed the Great Seal accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, 1621.

Abbot, who during this enquiry had lived in seclusion in a hospital which he had founded in his native town of Guildford, found it difficult, on returning to the exercise of his functions, to maintain his authority. When the unlucky fact occurred which had occasioned his retirement it happened, singularly enough, that four divines who had been elected Bishops were not yet consecrated. Laud was one of the number, and, possibly through his persuasion, rather than from the scruples which they professed, they unanimously refused to accept the rite at his hands, alledging that the stain of homicide could not be removed from his spiritual character by the King's pardon. James gave way to their obstinacy, and the new Bishops were consecrated, to the Primate's great mortification, by a congregation of Prelates, in the Bishop of London's chapel. The favour and good opinion however of that Prince was never withdrawn from him. Abbot attended his death-bed, and placed the crown on the head of his successor.

Conscious that he had few friends about the person of the young King, to whom he had ever been somewhat distasteful, he now confined his attention and his residence almost entirely to his diocese, where indeed he was most likely to give offence. His doctrines and discipline, if his ecclesiastical government deserved that name, which James, long accustomed to the slovenliness of the kirk, had borne with patience, were intolerable in the sight of his new master; the favourite Buckingham, whom, as has been stated, he introduced to the Court, had, for some cause now

unknown, become his enemy; and Laud rose daily in favour and confidence. They determined to wound him in the tenderest point, and an opportunity soon presented itself. Dr. Sibthorpe, a country clergyman, whose name the circumstance has preserved from oblivion, took occasion, in an assize sermon preached by him at Northampton in 1627, to promote and justify a loan demanded by the King. It was ordered (by Charles himself, as we are very improbably told) that the sermon should be printed, but when it was presented to the Archbishop for his licence he peremptorily refused it, assigning reasons more offensive than the denial itself. He was immediately directed to retire to one of his houses in the country, and in the autumn of that year the King granted a commission to Laud, and four other Bishops, to exercise the archiepiscopal office, stating, mildly enough, that it was issued "because the Archbishop could not at that time in his own person attend those services which were proper for his cognizance and jurisdiction." This suspension was soon removed, for in the following October he attended in Parliament, and paid his respects personally to the King; but new mortifications were preparing for him. About Christmas 1629 Laud composed a set of articles, "containing," to use the words of the preamble, "certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several Bishops in his province," which were transmitted to him, under Charles's sign manual; and in 1630 a further affront was offered by giving to another the honour of baptising the Prince of Wales, to which in fact he had a legal claim in right of his Primacy. These indignities seem at length to have produced the intended effect, since for the short remainder of his life we have no further intelligence of him. He died at his palace of Croydon, on the fourth of August, 1633, and was buried, to use the words of his own especial order in his last will, "in the chapel of our Lady, within the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in the town of Guildford," where a magnificent monument remains to his memory.

Lord Clarendon tells us that he was "a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect;" speaks contemptuously of his learning, and passes over the powers of his mind in silence. That wise and virtuous judge of men and manners concludes a comparative view of the characters of this Prelate and his Predecessor, Bancroft, of whose method of defence of the established church against sectarian novelties he speaks in the highest terms, with the following passage.—"But Abbot brought none of this antidote with him, and considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little enquiry, and took less care: and, having himself made very little progress in the ancient and solid study of Divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done; but if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and, at least, equally preferred by him: and though many other Bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily broke in, to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the Bishop of London, Dr. Laud, from the time of his authority and credit with the King, had applied all the remedies he could to those defections; and from the time of his being Chancellor of Oxford had much discountenanced, and almost suppressed, that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that University, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the Church of England, yet that temper in the Archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who

licenced their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do to reform and reduce a Church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak, and more wilful, churchmen."

Archbishop Abbot wrote, in addition to the small works already mentioned, "an Exposition on the Prophet Jonah, in sermons preached at St. Mary's Oxford, printed 1600—1613—Dr. Hill's reasons for upholding Papistry unmasked, Oxon. 1604—a Sermon for the funeral of Thomas Earl of Dorset, 1608—Some Memorials touching the Nullity between the Earl of Essex and his Lady, with other tracts on the same subject—London, 1719—A brief Description of the whole World, 1634, and often since reprinted —A short Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the death of Peter Hawkins—A Treatise of the perpetual Visibility and Succession of the true Church of England—London, 1624— A History of the Massacre in the Valtoline, printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments—his Judgement of bowing at the name of Jesus, Hamburgh, 1632. We are told too that he left in manuscript, a Narrative of the true cause of his Sequestration, and Disgrace at Court, in 1627.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

RICHARD WESTON, EARL OF PORTLAND.

OB.1634.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

London Published July 1.1833 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

RICHARD WESTON,

FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

The circumstances of this nobleman's life and character have never yet been collectively presented to our view, nor has the graver, till now, rendered his person familiar to us. He seems to have been one of those who were valued rather for good intentions than for able services, yet he possessed considerable talents, with most of the qualifications of a man of business, and many of a courtier. His faults, which were not abundant, arose from errors of temper, rather than of the head or heart. Distinguished by exemplary fidelity, by a zealous attachment to regal power, and by a sedulous application to the affairs of the State, he filled for some years the highest office in it, without acquiring the public regard and confidence which he appears really to have merited; and died in possession of that great post, little regretted, even by his own dependents, and leaving only a name which history seldom mentions.

His descent, both from father and mother, was from among the most ancient of the English gentry. He was the only child of Sir Jerome Weston, of Skrynes, in the parish of Roxwell, in Essex, Knight, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Cave, of Chicheley, in Bucks, a merchant of London, but of the old house of Cave, of Northamptonshire. He was bred in the Middle Temple to the study of the law, into the practice of which he came with the better grace because his paternal grandfather had risen in it to the station of a Justice of the Common Pleas, and his education, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "had been very good, both among books and men." He remained, however, not long in that profession, and probably quitted it on succeeding to the

inheritance of his patrimony, when he went abroad, and having for a considerable time applied himself to the observation of the politics and manners of the most eminent Courts in Europe, returned with a determination to seek preferment in the State. "He betook himself," says the same historian, "to the Court, and lived there some years, at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the modesty of the age, when men were seen some time before they were known, and well known before they were preferred, or durst pretend to it." He acquired, however, many friends, but in this tedious attendance, he not only consumed his fortune, which had been considerable, but contracted great debts to many who had pinned their hopes on his prospects, and was on the point of abandoning the Court in despair, when he was sent Ambassador to Prague, jointly with Sir Edward Conway, to endeavour to reconcile the Emperor and the Elector Palatine; and in the following year was entrusted alone to negotiate at Brussels with the Imperial and Spanish Ministers for the restitution of the Palatinate.

He acquitted himself in those missions with a caution and dexterity which procured for him, in addition to the approbation of his own Court, the favourable testimony of the foreign Statesmen with whom he had treated, and his fortune was now fixed: He was soon after his return received into the Privy Council, and appointed Chancellor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and on the twenty-fifth of May, 1624, obtained a commission for the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer, during the King's pleasure. Not yet arrived at the height of his preferment, he was now, however, in the zenith of his favour. The exactness and frugality with which he administered the affairs of the revenue were equally acceptable to the crown and to the people; but the chief theatre of his services was at that time the House of Commons, in which, not that it was then the peculiar province of the minister holding his office, he had the management of all matters which the King had peculiarly at heart. In this function

he carried himself at once with such prudence and courteousness, that while he essentially served James, and afterwards Charles, he gained the good opinion of the House, and had the rare good fortune for a considerable time to enjoy the high esteem at once of the King, the Parliament, and the favourite Buckingham, by whom it was believed that he was first brought into public employment.

His merits and services were nobly rewarded. On the thirteenth of April, 1628, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Weston, of Neyland, in Suffolk; and on the fifteenth of the following July appointed Lord High Treasurer, Ley, Earl of Marlborough, who had filled that post irreproachably for some years, having been purposely removed, under the pretence that his age and infirmities had disqualified him for it. This mighty elevation, which he owed to Buckingham, presently produced a change in his carriage which became evident to all with whom he had any intercourse, and excited the utmost surprise. The complaisance and condescension for which he had been always remarkable, and to which he was much indebted for his good fortune, suddenly forsook him; and, by an unaccountable perverseness, he whose proudest hopes had been at length gratified to the utmost now first manifested an inordi nate pride and ambition, of which he had never before been even suspected. One of the first fruits of this strange alteration was a growing discord with Buckingham, whose tragical death is said to have prevented his discharge from the high office to which that nobleman had so lately introduced him. "He did indeed," observes Lord Clarendon, "appear on the sudden wonderfully elated: and so far threw off his old affectation to please some very much, and to displease none, in which art he had excelled, that in few months after the Duke's death he found himself to succeed him in the public displeasure, and in the malice of his enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at Court, or in the affection of any considerable dependents."

With the King, however, he still enjoyed considerable favour, of which he received the largest proofs. On the ninth of April, 1631, he was elected a Knight of the Garter; in the succeeding winter had a grant of Chute forest in Hampshire, an estate of great value, to which was joined the office of Governor of the Isle of Wight; and on the seventeenth of February, 1633, O. S. was created Earl of Portland; nor could Charles be reasonably blamed for these bounties. It is true, that the most constant feature of Weston's political character was a vehement and sincere attachment to the royal prerogative; that he had very readily fallen in with the project of governing without Parliaments, to which the violence of the times, as well as the King's habitual notions of state policy, had induced that unhappy Prince to resort; and had been the chief adviser of the dissolution of the third which sat in this reign, as Buckingham had been of the two former; but Charles's motives to regard him arose not merely out of selfish prejudices. "Though he was not superior," says Clarendon again, "to all other men in the affection, or rather resignation, of the King, so that he might dispense favours and disfavours according to his own election, he had a full share in his master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise and able servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him, and received no other advice in the large business of his revenue; nor was any man so much his superior as to be able to lessen him in the King's affection by his power: so that he was in a post in which he might have found much ease and delight if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own province, which was large enough, and of such extent that he might at the same time have drawn a great dependence upon him of very considerable men, and have appeared a very useful and profitable minister to the King, whose revenue had been very loosely managed during the late years, and might have been easily improved; and no man better understood what method was necessary toward that good husbandry than he."

"I know not," adds Lord Clarendon, for so frequently quoting

whom no apology can be necessary, " by what frowardness in his stars he took more pains in examining and enquiring into other men's offices than in the discharge of his own; and not so much joy in what he had, as trouble and agony for what he had not. The truth is, he had so vehement a desire to be the sole favourite that he had no relish of the power he had; and in that contention he had many rivals who had credit enough to do him ill offices, though not enough to satisfy their own ambition, the King himself being resolved to hold the reins in his own hands, and to put no further trust in others than was necessary for the capacity they served in; which resolution in his Majesty was no sooner believed, and the Treasurer's pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his enemies exceedingly increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit of his friendship; and every day discovered some infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him both to public reproach, and to private animosities; and even his vices admitted those contradictions in them that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed him to the public jealousy, which is always attended with public reproach, was the concurrent suspicion of his religion. His wife, and all his daughters, were declared of the Roman religion; and though himself, and his sons, sometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have zeal for it; and his domestic conversation and dependents, with whom he used entire freedom, were all known Papists, and were believed to be agents for the rest; and yet, with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had reputation and credit with that party, who were the only people of the kingdom who did not believe him to be of their profession; for the penal laws, those only excepted which were sanguinary, and even those sometimes let loose, were never more rigidly executed, nor had the Crown ever so great a revenue from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay so dear for the favours and indulgencies of his office towards them."

These misfortunes, if the consequences of his own errors may properly be so called, produced in him a gradually increasing irritation of temper, which at length wholly disgusted his few remaining friends. He became to the last degree haughty and disobliging, and such was the unhappy mixture in his nature of rashness and pusillanimity, that every affront or vexation offered by him was instantly followed by an agonizing dread of the resentment of the offended party. Thus his carriage towards the Queen was marked by a constant alternation of petulant insults, and degrading apologies. Having provoked her to anger, his first care, on retiring from her presence, was to discover what she had afterwards said of him in her passion: receiving the news with increased alarm, he appealed sometimes to the King's authority, and sometimes to her compassion; and, in making his peace, generally betrayed those from whom he had gained the intelligence. These unhappy singularities at length visibly extended their influence to his conduct in the affairs of the State. His services were beheld with contemptuous indifference, not because either his parts or his fidelity were suspected, but because he had provoked in all sorts of people a habit of general dislike. He had none of that magnanimity which finds consolation in the consciousness of upright intentions: he became careless and negligent, and seems to have been withdrawn from this world just in time to avoid a disgraceful dismissal from office, and perhaps an undeserved impeachment.

He had, however, his eulogists and flatterers. There is in the Cabala one of those complimentary epistles with which it was then usual to treat the great at the commencement of a new year, addressed to him by Sir Henry Wotton; and exhibiting a picture of his character, in which, however highly coloured, there could not but have been some truth in the representation of every feature. It contains several notices of him which are no where else to be found, and is altogether too curious a piece to allow of abridgment. What must have been the degree of the Treasurer's

unpopularity when Wotton could not in decency avoid alluding to it, as he does, towards the conclusion of such an address?

"My most honoured Lord,

"I most humbly present, though by some infirmities a little too late, a straying new year's gift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the choicest materials. In short, it is only an image of yourself, drawn by memory from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship among the most intelligent and unmalignant men, which to portrait before you I thought no servile office, but ingenious and real; and I wish that it could have come at that day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year, somewhat like Plato's definition of felicity, with the contemplation of your own idea.

"They say that in your foreign employments under King James your Lordship won the opinion of a very able and searching judgement, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the Palatinate, which were then in brewing, and masqued with much art; and that Sir Edward Conway got the start of you, both in title and employment, because the late Duke of Buckingham wanted then, for his own ends, a military secretary. They say that under our present Sovereign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity, and provident moderation, which attributes I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your actions since—That though great exhaustations cannot be cured without sudden remedies, no more in a kingdom than in a natural body, yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours wherewith at your beginning your house was in a manner daily besieged. They note that there hath been many changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgement so cultivated and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord Burghley, under Queen Elizabeth,

whom they make your parallel in the ornament of knowledge. They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilities rarely sociable. In the character of your aspect a mixture of authority and modesty: in the faculties of your mind, quick apprehension and solidity together: in the style of your port and train as much dignity, and as great dependency, as was ever in any of your place, and with little noise and outward form: that your table is very abundant, free, and noble, without luxury: that you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greatest power in Court: that you love magnificence and frugality, both together: that you entertain your guests and visitors with noble courtesy, and void of compliment: lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your person and place, and yet an enemy to frothy formalities.

"Now, in the discharge of your function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour, viz. that you had always a special care to the supply of the navy, and likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the King's only sister, for the continual support from hence, than she hath found before: they observe your greatness as firmly established as ever was any, of the love, and, which is more, in the estimation, of a King, who hath so signalised his constancy; besides your additions of strength, or at least of lustre, by the noblest alliances of the land. Amongst these notes, it is no wonder if some observe that between a good willingness in your affections to satisfy all, and impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall on your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a rock of diamonds.

"Now, after this short collection touching your most honoured person, I beseech you to give me leave to add likewise a little what men say of the writer. They say I want not your gracious good will towards me, according to the degree of my poor talent and travels, but they say that I am wanting to myself, and, in good

faith, my Lord, in saying so they say the truth; for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own business, and it is now too late to put me in a new furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordship's proper work, and not only your noble but even your charitable goodness that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of the text, " beatus quì attendit ad attenuatum; and so I remain, with an humble and willing heart, at your Lordship's command,

HENRY WOTTON."

The Earl of Portland died of a gradual decay, the conclusion of which was attended by a complication of the most acute sufferings. Mr. Garrard, the busy and lively intelligencer to Lord Strafford, describes his ailments, in a letter to that nobleman, of the twelfth of March, 1634, with a particularity at once affecting and disgusting. Other circumstances of some interest relative to him are detailed in that letter. The King's regard for him seems to have been undiminished to the last. Charles had given him, says Garrard, twelve thousand pounds since the preceding Christmas; visited him, when nearly in the last extremity, and remained by his bed-side " till his Majesty could no longer endure to hear him breathe with such difficulty and pain, and so loud;" and commanded the Court to wear mourning for him. The same authority states that his rental was six thousand six hundred pounds, and his debts twenty-five thousand, and that at the time of his decease he was not possessed of one hundred pounds. Lord Clarendon informs us that " all the honours the King conferred on him could not make him think himself great enough, nor could all the King's bounties, nor his own large accessions, raise a fortune to his heir; but, after six or eight years, spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater; after vast sums of money and

great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed, without any sense of delight in so great prosperity, but with the agony that it was no greater, he died unlamented by any; bitterly mentioned by those who never pretended to love him, and severely censured and complained of by those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him; and left a numerous family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the fortune he had left behind him." He died at Wallingford House, in Westminster, on the thirteenth of March, 1634, O. S. and was buried in the cathedral at Winchester.

This nobleman was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of William Pinchion, of Writtle, in Essex; secondly, to Frances, daughter of Nicholas Waldegrave, of Borrley, in the same county. By his first lady he had one son, Richard, who died unmarried, and two daughters; Elizabeth, married to Sir John Netterville, son and heir to Nicholas, Viscount Netterville, in Ireland; and Mary, to Walter, Lord Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland: the second brought him three sons, and four daughters; Jerome, who succeeded to his honours, and whose only son Charles, the third Earl, fell, fighting bravely, when young and unmarried, in one of the great naval actions with the Dutch, in 1665; Thomas, on whom the titles and estates devolved on the death of that young nobleman, and in whom the honours became extinct; Nicholas and Benjamin, who died without male issue. The daughters by the second marriage were Catherine, wife of Richard White, of Hutton, in Essex; Frances, of Philip Draycote, of Paynesley, in Staffordshire; Anne, married to Basil, Lord Fielding, son and heir to William, Earl of Denbigh; and Mary, who died unmarried.

Engraved by W.T.Mote.

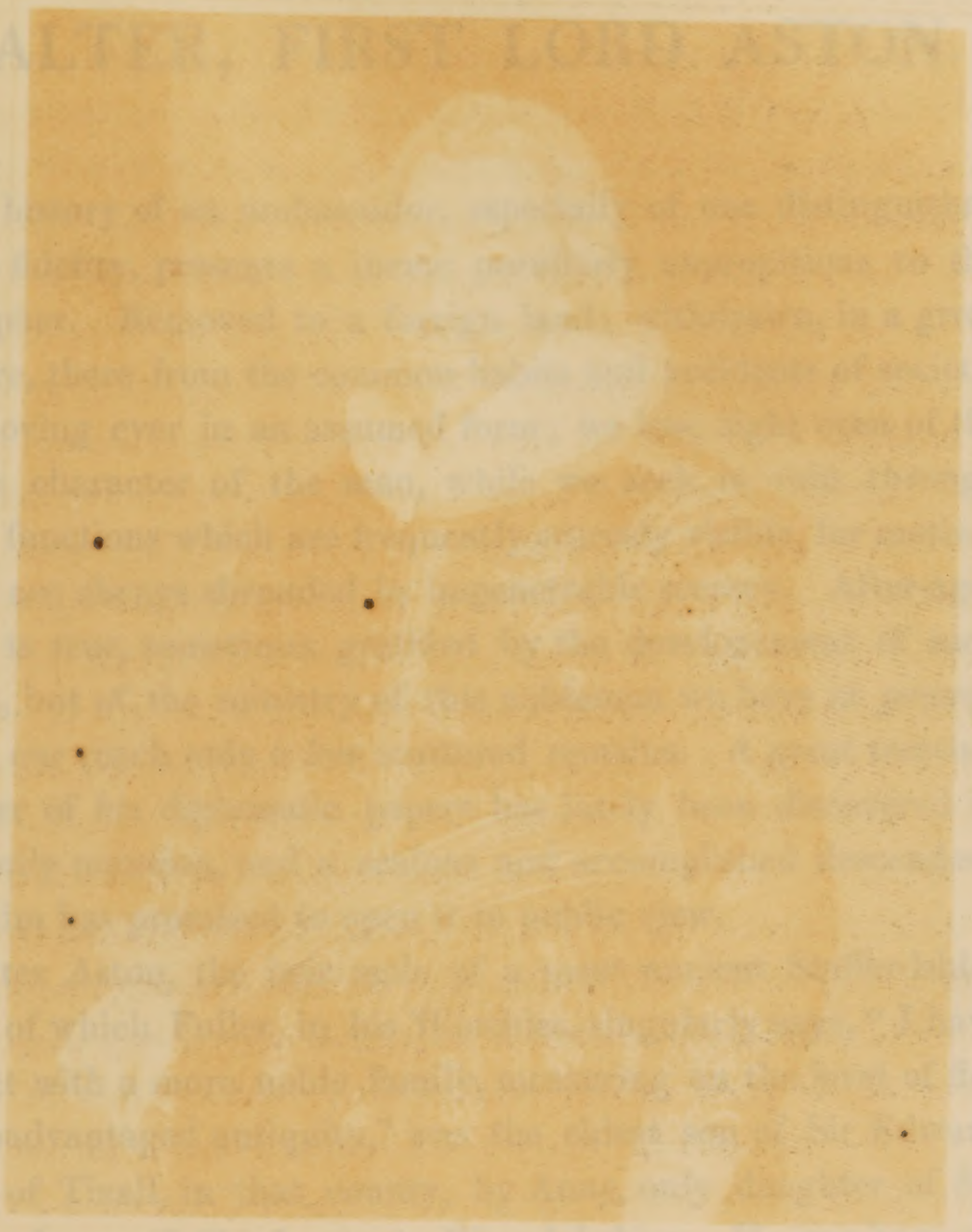
WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

OB.1639.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THOMAS BLOUNT ESQ.RE

London, Published Novr. 1.1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

The history of an ambassador, especially of one distinguished by his fidelity, presents a theme peculiarly unpropitious to the biographer. Removed to a foreign land; withdrawn, in a great measure, there from the common habits and accidents of society, and moving ever in an assumed form; we lose sight even of the private character of the man, while we seek in vain through public functions which are frequently scarcely visible, for motives which are always shrouded in impenetrable secrecy. After-ages are, it is true, sometimes gratified by the developement of such arcana, but of the ministry of this nobleman we have at present within our reach only a few scattered remains. A great treasure however of his diplomatic papers has lately been discovered in his family mansion, and a zealous and accomplished descendant from him has promised to open it to public view.

Walter Aston, the heir male of a most ancient Staffordshire house, of which Fuller, in his Worthies, singularly says, "I have not met with a more noble family, measuring on the level of flat and unadvantaged antiquity," was the eldest son of Sir Edward Aston, of Tixall, in that county, by Anne, only daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, in Warwickshire. He was born on the ninth of July, 1584, at Charlecote, and baptised there. Of the place and method of his education we are uninformed, but he has left abundant proofs that it was of the most perfect of that class usually termed polite. The completion of it he probably owed to the care of the celebrated lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, to whom, on his father's death, in 1597, he was given by Elizabeth in wardship, and by whom there can be little doubt that he was first brought to London, and to the Court. He was

appointed one of the Knights of the Bath at the coronation of James, and was created a Baronet in 1611, among the first on whom that title was conferred.

The families of Aston and Villiers were neighbours in the country, and it is by no means unlikely that his intimacy with Buckingham, who appeared at court soon after him, might have arisen originally from that circumstance. Certain, however, it is that he was distinguished by that prodigious favourite immediately on his sudden accession to power, and an attachment was formed between them which lasted uninterruptedly, and indeed gradually increased, till the Duke's death; for Buckingham, to a warmth of heart which frequently led him to favour for a time unworthy objects, joined that just decision of judgment, as well as of affection, which can alone form the basis of solid friendship; and Aston, at once affectionate and candid, polite and firm, wise and modest, presented to him a character of all others formed to gain his fullest regard. At Buckingham's instance he was sent in 1619, to manage the treaty, so distinguished in our history, for the marriage of Charles with the Infanta of Spain, and remained there for several years. Of circumstances relating personally to himself during that tedious embassy, nothing has been hitherto known but that he wasted on it a very considerable part of his great estate; and of his public conduct in it little more has transpired. From a few letters however in the Cabala, and from some others in the Harleian collection, I have been able to collect several valuable notices of each, the most material of which I shall give here in their original form. They furnish, too, some curious hints of the imbecility and vacillation of James, and his counsels. It appears from the first letter which occurs, written a few weeks after his arrival at Madrid, that he had been suffered to set out on his expedition at his own sole expence, and that no specific provision had been made for his reimbursement. It is addressed, as indeed are all the rest, to the Duke, then Marquis, of Buckingham.

" My most honnord Lord,

I have sent unto M^r. Sec^rie the bills of my journey into Spayne, according to the ordinary cours, to have them allowed by the principall Sec^rie, and I know they will pass much the sooner thorrow his hands if your Lo^p will pleass to express unto him the least of yo^r care of me. I press not this w^th intention presently to clammor for the monney, but to keepe the pace of presidents of the same kinde; and, though I receive nothing as yett, I shalbe yet glad to have it become a debt unto me as soon as others. My preparations before I sate out on my journey, my provisions, and charge here, will rais my first yeer's expences to above 7 thowsand pownde, w^ch beeinge too great for me, w^thout some helpe, to beare, I do humbly desire to know, by a favourable advertisement from yo^r Lo^p when I may beginn to call for part of such sommes as will become dew unto me; for I shall rather ruin my owne fortune then doe anythinge heare too meane for that honnowre his Ma^tie hath conferd upon me, and theare cowld nothinge fall more heavy upon me then to be forst to make a sute of burden to his M^tie. I shall humbly therfore desire to understand fully yo^r Lo^p's pleasure concerninge my present request, for I desire nothinge but what may be w^th his Ma^tie's content, and by yo^r L^p's direction.

I have found that the testimonies of his Ma^tie's good opinion of me, w^th yo^r perticuler respect and favowre, w^ch they have taken notice of heare, hath layde me a good fondation, and made me acceptable at first; and the continewance of his Ma^tie's goodness, w^th yo^r Lo^p's care of me, will dayly give increase to my powre and creditt, both with this Kinge and his ministers: I doe therfore most humbly intreat yo^r Lo^p to preserve unto me still the same respect and countenance, and I dowte not but that his Ma^tie will find that I shall imploy usefully the strength he hath given me to the advancement of his service. Whatsoever I have thowte worthy advertisment I have writt to my Lo. Digbie.

I will therfore forbeare pressinge further upon yo^{r} Lo$^{pp's}$ patience, and rest

Y^{r} Lo$^{pp's}$ most bound servant,

Madrid, WA. ASTON."

the 7 of May, 1620, *stil. Ang.*

About this period Sir John Digby, lately created a Baron, and soon after Earl of Bristol, was sent to join Aston at Madrid. The business of the treaty was entrusted in common to their wisdom, and the management of correspondence with James and his ministers committed separately to Aston. They were both earnest friends to the match, and for the first two years of their embassy received the highest approbation and praise from the King, the Prince, and the favourite; when, on Charles's wild expedition to the court of Spain, and Buckingham's quarrel with Olivares, and consequent resolution to revenge himself by preventing the projected marriage, they found all their measures suddenly broken by a new scheme of policy, if it deserved that name, at home, the reasons for which were studiously concealed from them. In this dilemma, Aston, on the first of November, 1623, addressed to the Duke a long letter, doubtless one of many to the same effect, which concludes with these honest, friendly, and spirited, remonstrances.

——" I have hytherto understood y^{t} his Ma^{tie} and his Highnes have really affected this match, and have labowred faythefully to second ther desyres wth my uttermost indevours. Ther is none, I am sure, a better wittness then myself of the affection w^{ch} yo^{r} Grace hath born unto itt, w^{ch} I have seen remayne constant through many trialls; and therefore, untill I understand y^{e} contrary from y^{r} self, I must beleeve y^{t} yo^{r} desyres are the same w^{ch} I have seene them. I must ever speak my hart freely unto yo^{r} Grace; and I confess y^{t} upon y^{e} letter w^{ch} I receaved from his Highnes, and upon y^{e} sight of his Ma$^{tie's}$ unto my Lo. of Bristol, I have been jealous that his Ma$^{tie's}$ hart, and his Highnes', are not that to y^{e} match w^{ch} they have beene: but these are but dystrusts

of my owne, and not foundation sufficient to slaken or coole those diligences w^{ch} I dayly performe, in conformitie to his Ma$^{tie's}$ and his Highnes' comands, and to what remayns aparant of ther desires. I shall therfore humbly desire yo^{r} Lo^{p} to open my eys, and if I am out of the way to sett me straight, for I have noe affection of my owne but what agrees wth my master's, and will ever submitt wth all humillitie myself and my judgement unto his Ma$^{tie's}$ wisedome, and faythfully labowr to serve him, according to what I shall understand to be his will and pleasure; but untill I know, by yo^{r} Grace's favor, by what compas to guide my cource, I can only followe his Ma$^{tie's}$ revealed will; and will once take the boldnes to represent unto yo^{r} Grace, in discharge of part of what I owe you, these consederations w^{ch} my desyre to serve you forceth from me.

I do looke upon yo^{r} Grace as a person infinitely provoked to be an enymy to this match, and I beleeve y^{t} you have had represented unto you many reasons, shewing how much itt concerns you to seeke to breake itt wth all the force you have; but I can neyther beleeve y^{t} y^{e} errowre of one man can make you an enimy to that w^{ch} brings along wth itt so much hapines and content unto his Ma^{tie} and his Highnes, nor y^{t} yo^{r} Grace's jugem^{t} can be ledd by thos arguments y^{t} under y^{e} couler of safety would bring you into a dangerous laberinth. Yo^{r} Grace hath given a noble testimonye how little you have valewed yo^{r} owne safety in respect of his Ma$^{tie's}$ service, and therefore I assure myself you would conteme all consederations concerning yourselfe y^{t} might hinder yo^{r} advancement of his Ma$^{tie's}$ ends. In the proceeding to this match ther is the same conveniencys to his Ma^{tie} y^{t} ever hath beene; ther is y^{e} same Lady; y^{e} same portion; y^{e} same frendship desired; they professing here an exact complying wth what is capitulated, and a resolution to give his Ma^{tie} satisfaction in whatsoever is in their powre. From your Grace none can take away y^{e} honor of having beene y^{e} principall meanes by w^{ch} this great busines hath been brought to a conclusion; and, whatsoever others maye

suggest against yo^{r} Grace, y^{e} Infanta, trewly informed, cannot but understand you y^{e} person to whom she owes most in this busines. Yo^{r} Grace and y^{e} Conde of Olivares have falne upon diferent wayes, that w^{ch} concerns y^{e} honor of y^{e} King o^{r} master being diferent to that w^{ch} he understood concerned most his master. Yo^{r} ends were both one for y^{e} efecting of y^{e} match, and wth y^{e} conclusion of itt he cannot but better understand you. Would yo^{r} Grace would com̃itt itt to my charg to informe y^{e} Infanta what you have merited, and to acomodate all other mistakes here concerning yo^{r} proceeding. If yo^{r} Grace could reconcyle yo^{r} hart, I would not dowte but wth y^{e} conclusion of y^{e} match to compose all things to yo^{r} good satisfaction, and bring them to a trewer understanding of you, and of ther obligations unto you. Into what a sea of confutions the breaking of this alliance would ingage his Ma^{tie} I will leave to yo^{r} Grace's wisdome to consider of, it being too large a discource for a letter.

Considering myself, yo^{r} Grace knowes my wants, and I dowt not that yo^{r} care is what I could wish. I should be glad, when yow have done wth Peter Wych, to see him dyspached away wth some supplies to me, w^{ch} I shalbe in extreame want of by Christmass; my debtes, beside, in England being clamorous upon me for some satisfaction. I leave all to y^{r} Grace's care and favor, ever resting

Yo^{r} Grace's humblest and most bounden servant,

Wa. Aston.

Post Scripta. The Condessa of Olivares bids me tell yow that she kisses yo^{r} Grace's hands, and doth every day recommend yow perticularly by name in her prayers to God."

It will be recollected that some writers have ascribed Buckingham's quarrel with Olivares to the detection of an intrigue with that minister's lady; and that others, particularly Lord Clarendon, have treated the report with contempt. The postscript to this letter may furnish matter of speculation to those

who love to analyse such nice points of historical disquisition. But, to return to our subject, on the twenty-third of the same month Aston again pressed the Duke, by a letter in which we find the following passage—

" Itt hath beene here of late spread abroad y^{t} yo^{r} Grace hath doun many ill offices against y^{e} proceeding to y^{e} match, but I have cried itt as much downe as I could, assuring these ministers y^{t} itt is a malitious report, and have desired them to be confident y^{t} yo^{r} Grace, who hath so often made professions to y^{e} Princess, assuring her y^{t} yow will ever be, as yow have been, a faythefull servant unto y^{e} busines of y^{e} match, and will constantlye labowre to remove whatsoever dyfficulties may opose themselves, though others may suggest unto her Highnes y^{e} contrary, and y^{t} hath made so large professions as yow did unto y^{e} King here at yo^{r} parting, will never doe any thing so contrary to y^{e} King o^{r} master's service, and yo^{r} owne honor, as to seeke to breake y^{e} amitie betwixt thes Crownes; and have therefore, intreated them not to give credit to rumors y^{t} ar raised rather out of malice then upon any just ground."

Buckingham became at length angry, rather perhaps at the justness than at the freedom of these repeated observations, but his friendship for Aston remained intire. At the same time, the King too, and the Prince, in that anxiety to break off the match with which they had been inspired by Buckingham, intimated to Sir Walter their displeasure at his having concurred with Bristol in fixing a day for the espousals, without previously binding the King of Spain to the restitution of the Palatinate, to which they well knew that Prince would never consent. On the fifth of December he wrote to the Duke to intercede for him, and on the same day addressed to the King the following letter, the confused style of which, so different from his usual method of expression, clearly indicates the perturbation of his mind at the moment.

" May itt please yo^{r} Ma^{tie},

Upon y^{e} understanding from my Lo. Duke of Buckingham of yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ displeasure towards me, (w^{ch} is y^{e} greatest affliction y^{t} ever I receaved) for having conformed my self to the opinion of my Lo. of Bristol touching y^{e} Disposorios, wth all humilitie acknowleging my error; and then not presuming to wright unto yo^{r} Ma^{tie} myselfe, I humbly intreated his Highnes and my Lo. Duke to become sutors unto yo^{r} Ma^{tie} for yo^{r} pardon, w^{ch} I doe y^{e} better hope I have obtained, not dowting but they have beene pleased to have been my mediators unto yo^{r} Ma^{tie}. And this beeing the first reprehension y^{t} ever I receaved, I doe alsoe not dowbt but it will extenuate my faulte when yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall please to consider y^{t} what I then did was grownded upon y^{e} conceaving y^{t} by y^{t} meanes yo^{r} Ma^{tie} should have had yo^{r} desyres, both in y^{e} match, and in y^{e} busines of y^{e} Palatinate, howsoever in that tyme not precisely agreeing wth yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ directions; and y^{t} by oposing my self unto y^{e} way w^{ch} his Lo^{p} intended to hold, I showld so much have distracted yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ affaires by a single action of my owne, w^{ch} I understood not how I could justifie, having receaved no warrant for itt. And I presume itt is yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ pleasure that I should be ever tender to doe anything y^{t} might give distasts in businesses of soe great importance, without a cleare and perfect direction. I will not trouble yo^{r} Ma^{tie} further, but, with my dayly prayers for yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ long life, health, and hapie raigne, doe rest,

Yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ most humble subject and servant,

W. Aston."

Buckingham answered him by a letter in which haughtiness and anger are so amiably chastened by kindness that it is matter of regret that its length should exceed the limits of this publication. " In your letter of the fifth of December," begins the Duke, " you desire me to give you my opinion. My ancient acquaintance, long custom of loving you, with constancy of friendship,

invites me to do you this office of good will, and to serve you according to your request." He proceeds to remind Aston that the Prince, when at Madrid, had distinctly apprised him that the restitution of the Palatinate must be a condition for the match; had since written to him to the same effect; and was therefore astonished to find that he had consented to fix a day for the espousals without previous security for the performance; (all which, by the way, is contrary to the usual report of history); that it had been therefore in contemplation to recal both Bristol and himself; "but," says the Duke, "I have with much difficulty prevented this; so that it will be now in your power, by your carriage, to come off without reproof." He concludes—"If you think, at first sight, I press a little hard upon this point, you may be pleased to interpret it to be a faithful way of satisfying your request, and an expression of my affection to have you do all things suitable to your wisdom, virtue, and honor, and according to the wishes of your's,

G. Buckingham."

Aston, in his answer to this letter, on the twenty-second of the same month, says, "I have in all things with so much affection desired to serve yo^{r} Grace every way to yo^{r} satisfaction, that it hath infinitely afflicted me that I should have done anything whereby I might lessen yo^{r} favourable opinion towards me, but I hope yo^{r} Grace hath by this time set me straight both wth his Ma^{tie} and his Highnes, and restored me to the place in yo^{r} affection which I formerly had." And this indeed the Duke had fully accomplished; but these rebukes left a deep impression on Sir Walter's mind, for, in the last letter which I find from him, dated exactly one month after the preceding, are these melancholy expressions. "I am now here in a dangerous time, in the greatest businesses that have byn treated of many years, and the bitterest stormes threatning betwyxt these crownes that have byn these many ages. I have therefore no hope to save myself, without I be guided by his Highnes' and yo^{r} Grace's trusts and care of me." He remained, however, with the highest credit, at Madrid, the

sole minister, (for his colleague had quitted his station in disgust, amidst the differences which have just now been related) till 1625, when he returned, on the accession of Charles the first, by whom, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1627, he was created Baron Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland. In 1635 he was again sent ambassador to the court of Spain, where he continued in that character till 1638: of this last mission, which indeed involved only ordinary matters between the two kingdoms, no particulars have occurred to me. Perhaps no man ever served his country with more fidelity to his King, or equal disadvantage to himself. "He was seised," says a memorandum preserved in the family, in the hand-writing of his grandson, Walter, third Lord Aston, "at the time of his going into Spaine, of divers manors and lordships, lying in the counties of Stafford, Warwick, Derby, and Leicestre, to the no lesse value than of 10,000*l.* p^{r}. an., the greatest part of which he lost and dispended in that service."

The gratitude of Drayton's muse has consecrated the memory of Lord Aston as a lover and encourager of English poesy, and as a most beneficent friend. He had scarcely overstepped childhood when he became a patron, for in 1598 the poet dedicates to him one of the "Heroical Epistles." In the preface to the Polyolbion, 1612, we find this passage—"Whatever is herein that tastes of a free spirit, I thankfully confess it to proceed from the continual bounty of my truly noble friend, Sir Walter Aston; which hath given me the best of those hours whose leisure hath effected this which I now publish." Drayton's works indeed abound with testimonies of esteem and affection for him, far too numerous to be here inserted; but I cannot suppress one sonnet, full of manliness of sentiment, and elegance of expression, addressed "to the worthy, and his most honored friend, Ma. Walter Aston."

"I will not strive m' invention to inforce
With needless words, your eyes to entertaine;
T' observe the formall ordinary course
That every one so vulgarly doth faine:

Our interchanged and deliberate choice
Is with more firme and true election sorted
Than stands in censure of the common voyce,
That with light humor fondly is transported.
Nor take I patterne of another's praise,
But what my pen can constantly avowe;
Nor walke more publique, nor obscurer, waies
Than virtue bids, and judgement will allowe.
So shall my love and best endeavours serve you,
And still shall studie still so to deserve you."

Lord Aston married Gertrude, only daughter and sole heir of Sir Thomas Sadleir, of Standon, in Herts, and grand-daughter of that eminent statesman, Sir Ralph Sadleir, and had by her five sons, and as many daughters. Of these, Walter, Thomas, and John, the first, fourth, and fifth sons, died in infancy; another Walter, second son, but at length heir, succeeded to the title and estates; and Herbert, the third, was seated at Colton, in Staffordshire. The daughters were Frances, married to Sir William Persall, of Canwell, near Lichfield; Gertrude, to Henry Thimelby, of Irnham, in Lincolnshire; Constantia, to Walter Fowler, of St. Thomas' Priory, near Stafford; Honora, and another, who died infants. Lord Aston departed in the latter end of July, or the beginning of August, 1639, for he was buried on the thirteenth of the last named month, in St. Mary's church, in the town of Stafford.

Engraved by P. Lightfoot.

FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

OB. 1639.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

London, Published April 1, 1834 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

FRANCES HOWARD,

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND,

Was the only child of Thomas, Viscount Bindon (second of the sons who attained to manhood, of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, and brother to the celebrated Henry, Earl of Surrey) by his third wife, Mabel, daughter of Nicholas Burton, of Carshalton, in Surrey. The beauty of this lady has been highly celebrated, and her vanities and eccentricities abundantly censured. She was born about the year 1578, and became, at an early age, under the influence of one of those extravagant predilections so frequent in youth, the wife of a person certainly of unsuitable rank. In this marriage originated much of the ridicule which has been levelled at her character, and, as ridicule always deals in exaggeration, the condition of her first husband has been sunk by wilful misrepresentation to utter baseness. Whenever her name is mentioned his is sure to be coupled with it, and the description usually bestowed on him is "one Prannel, a vintner's son," for some have gone further, and asserted that his father was a mere alehouse-keeper; but the truth is that his father, Henry Prannel, was an alderman of London, and in a time too when none but the most respectable of the commercial order were elected to that degree. He had probably obtained his freedom of the city in the vintners' company, and hence this silly slander. Henry, his only son, who had the honour of gaining the hand of this high-born damsel, inherited from him, in 1594, the manors of Berewyk, and Rokey, otherwise Walter Andrews, with other considerable estates in the northern part of Hertfordshire, and these he settled on himself and his wife, and their issue, by a deed of the fourteenth of May, 1597, which fixes with tolerable precision the date

of their marriage. Prannel, however, survived little more than two years, and left her childless. He was buried at Barkway, in Herts, on the twelfth of December, 1599.

Such a widow was unlikely to remain long without suitors. She was addressed by many, but her most ardent admirer was Sir George Rodney, a Somersetshire gentleman, possessed of considerable estates, in the prime of life, and highly accomplished. It is but common justice to her memory to say, that he seems from the beginning to have cherished a hopeless flame, since, in a correspondence of a most singular nature, which will presently appear, no hint of reproach is uttered on his part, or of apology on hers; yet it has been said that she at first encouraged him. Howsoever this might have been, certain it is that she disappointed his views by becoming the wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who was at this time more than sixty years of age, and had been already twice married. Rodney, in the wild extravagance of an ungovernable passion, had the temerity to persevere in his suit, and was repulsed with firmness, tempered by a gentleness of manner, vainly contrived, as it should seem, to calm the fury of his temper, and perhaps to conceal his guilty imprudence from all but the Countess and himself. It had no other effect than to raise the tumult of his mind to madness. "Having drunk in too much affection," (to use the words of Arthur Wilson, in his reign of James the first) "and not being able with his reason to digest it, he summoned up his spirits to a most desperate attempt, and, coming to Amesbury, where the Earl and Countess were then resident, to act it, he retired to an inn in the town, shut himself up in a chamber, and wrote a large paper of well-composed verses to the Countess, in his own blood (strange kind of composedness) wherein he bewails and laments his own unhappiness; and, when he had sent them to her, as a sad catastrophe to all his miseries, he ran himself upon his sword, and so ended that life which he thought death to enjoy, leaving the Countess to a strict remembrance of her inconstancy, and

himself a desperate and sad spectacle of frailty." Contemporary transcripts of the verses referred to by Wilson, and of an answer from the Countess, remain in the treasures of the British Museum, unless we ought to doubt their authenticity, for which I can see no sufficient reason; but this must ever remain matter of opinion. If they are genuine, it is needless to say that they demand insertion here: if otherwise, their intrinsic merit might plead som apology for this publication of them.

Sir George Rodney to the Countesse of Hertford.

From one that languisheth in discontent,
Dear Faire, receive this greeting to thee sent;
And still as oft as it is read by thee,
Then with some deep sad sigh remember mee;
When bee thou sure this order I will keepe,
My harte shall bleede as fast as thine shall weepe:
So if in sheddinge tears thou dost not faine,
With drops of blood I'll pay thee tears againe;
To make oure sorrowes somewhat like abound,
That as thy eies so may my hart be drown'd,
In which greife shall bee full, sighes shall be plentie,
And for one sighe of thine, I'le give thee twentie;
And to the audit of thy strange content
Pay interest for the thoughts which thou hast lent;
For too too well my fortunes make me knowe
My hapless Love must worke my overthrowe,
Wherein not death itself can come with paine,
Were not my death made woeful by disdaine;
By which the times may say, by what is donne,
My father had one lost degenerate sonne,
And I shall to the stocke from whence I came,
Behold a blott both to my bloud and name,
Soe much to yield, where in disgrace I prove,
To femall softness, and unfruitfull love.
Confess I doe shame is my best desert,
Plantinge affection on a barren hart.
'Twas nature's sinne thus to commix a mynd
With beautie died in graine so muche unkinde.

No—'twas my fortune's error to vow duty
To one that bears defiance in her beautie.
Sweete poyson; precious wooe; infectious jewell:
Such is a ladie that is faire and cruell.
Howe well could I with ayre, camelion like,
Live happie, and still gazeing on thy cheeke,
In which, forsaken man! mee thinke I see
How goodlie love doth threaten cares to mee.
Why dost thou frowne thus on a kneelinge soule,
Whose faultes in love thou may'st as well controule.—
In love—but oh! that word, I feare,
Is hatefull still both to thy hart and eare.
Am I too meane in ranck? I knowe I am,
Nor can I raise the stocke from whence I came.
I am no Barron's sonne, nor borne so high:
Would I were lower, soe I were not I:
As lowe as envy's wishes could impart,
Soe I could sett my sighes beneath my hart.
Ladie, in breefe, my fates does so intend,
The period of my daies drawes to an end:
The thread of my mortalitie is spunne,
Cancell'd my life, my thread of frailtie runne.
Death stands before my eies, and says my doome
By destinie to die was not yet come;
Tells me I might have liv'd, and tells me truth,
I am not sick yett in my strength of youth;
But says in such a lamentable case
I must not live to overlive disgrace;
And yields strong reasons, for, says death most clearlie,
Such is her pleasure whom thou lov'st most dearlie.
Oh be that wish accomplished, to showe
How it shall bee; but hope alas is vayne
When all my hope is clouded with disdain.
Nor, ladie, dare I blame you, since your choice,
With whome in honour you doe now rejoice,
Is worthie in himself, or indeed rather
In beinge sonne to such a worthie father,
Of whom amidst my griefes I have confest
He was of Seymors both the great'st and best.
Oh may his sonne be like him in his life:
Heer's then a husband fitt for such a wife.

Yett, had my father answered his degree,
I might have bin as worthie full as hee ;
For I had then bin captive to love's might,
More guided by my hart than by my sight.
Neglect of errour and the hand of heaven
Are meerlie strangers, yett it might have given
Well parted grace to frame a perfect creature,
A constant judgment to a constant feature ;
For youth had then been match'd, a goodlie thinge,
Not to the sapless autumne, but the springe.
But O ! the time is past, and all too late :
I may lament, but not recall my fate.
Stricte stands the censure which report displays,
That takes from mee the honor of my daies.
Revive my hopes—I cannot sincke in fame,
My reputation lost, disgrac't my name.
In virtue I am wounded, and can have
No glory nowe but in the conqueringe grave.
Sad memory to come this doome may give,
And say hee died that had no hart to live :
Herein my greifes and I shall well agree :
I'le bury them, as they have buried mee :
Thus to thy angry beauty, pretious deare,
A sacrifice of pittie will I reare ;
A sacrifice of peace to end all strife ;
As true a hart as ever harboured life.
I may doe't, but my frailetie may forslow't,
And, indeed, 'tis not fitt that you should know't.
No, ladie, no ; although I cannot wynne
Your love for suite, to die for love is sinne.
Yet give me leave to singe my former songe :
I am too deeplie wounded to live longe,
Though not to die in hast ; but I protest,
If death could make you thinke I lov'd you best,
Would I were dead, that you alone might knowe
How much to you I did both vowe and owe.
I strive in vaine : my miseries are such
That all I doe or write is all too much.
My wish I have, if I be understood,
Willing to seale my meaning with my blood.
Faire, doe not frett, nor yett at all be mov'd,
That I have thus unfortunatlie loved ;

Nor thinke herein report disgracefull for thee ;
Heaven knowes I ever thought myselfe unworthie.
Yett, if you have a thought to cast away,
Cast it on mee, and soe you may repay
My service with some ease, and I in mynde
Commend that pittie I could never finde.
Thus ever bee, as you are, ever fair :
Rest you in much content ; I in despaire.

The Countesse's Answere.

Divided in your sorrowes, I have strove
To pittie that attemp I must not love,
For which your health you sent me (sith in vaine,
Because I could not keepe) returnes againe.
Soe nowe the case betweene us twoe thus stands,
My present state, and your mishappe, commands :
Wherein what should I say but what I see ?
Impute the faultes to destinee, not mee.
Poore is the part of beautie I enjoy,
If where it winnes one it must one destroy.
Small cause have I, the owner, to rejoyce,
That cannot take free passage in my choyce ;
But, for the fruitless paintinge of my cheekes,
Must still become a slave to him that seekes,
Or be term'd cruell, or, which is farre worse,
Of death or bloudshedd undergoe the curse :
Soe if one desperate in madnesse do it,
Not yeildinge, I am accessarie to it.
Is bondage then the happinesse attends
On those whome evene one for faire commends ?
Then surelie better much it is to bee,
Rather than faire, in thraldome borne and free :
But this I neede not pleade, since beautie's mirror
Occasions not your suite, but your own error ;
And some such men there are, in whome opinion
Of what doth seeme, not is, hath most dominion :
Those onlie that for excellent doe seeme
What is not soe, indeed, but in esteeme,
Which, though I will not tax for lust in any,
Yett very lust, no doubt, it is in many ;

For uncompounded love, pure and refin'd,
Is a moste-neate perfection of the mynde,
And, being suche, must evermore effect
Thinges like itself in qualitie elect;
Which granted, love in these should seeke for grace
Which faire are in condition, not in face.
So love a virtue is.—How many then
True lovers should bee found amongst you men?
Such as preferr, by reason's temperate fire,
Lawfull dessert before unjust desire;
Such as with goodness, in itself pure fram'd,
Are mildlie hot, not franticklie inflam'd;
Such as with goodness doe affection measure,
Grounded on cause of motion, not of pleasure.
Hee's not fitt choice that passionatelie hovers;
Lovers are men, but most men are not lovers;
And this should make us froward in deniall,
Since still wee knowe our miseries by triall.
Successe and custom, to weake women foes,
Have made men wanton in our overthrowes.
What is't in their attempts men have not vaunted,
Because the worser of our sex have graunted?
To weepe, to threaten, flatter, lie, protest,
Are but in earnest lust, and love in jest.
Myself have heard it now and then avow'd
By some whome use in follie hath made prowd,
That if by oathes one may his purpose winne,
Noe perjury in such a case is sinne:
And can we then bee blamed if, being harm'd
By sadd experience, wee bee stronglie arm'd
With resolution to defend our wrongs
Against the perjur'd falsehood of men's tongues?
But whither range I in this vaine dispute,
Since what you seeke for is a wicked suite,
In telling you are captive to love's mighte,
More guided by your hart than by your sight?
I can but answer to the love you ow'd,
The love that should have thank'd you is bestow'd:
Soe I must die in debt; my hart is gonne;
You are not hee, and I must have but one.

To him I have engag'd my blushless truth :
Love is not wise in age ; most rash in youth ;
And I applaud my fortune, which have mett
That fate which grave discretion doth begett.
Terme age the autumne ; 'tis a better play
To singe in winter, than to weepe in May.
Somethinge I know ; content is match'd with yeares,
When to wedd younge is as to marry teares.
And whoe can choose but faithfullie affect
That wisedome that knowes wiselie to direct ?
When youth with youth their race together runne,
Both ignorant to guide, are both undone,
And therefore doe not you my choyce molest ;
My match must please you, for it likes mee best :
Nor do you take the course to purchase love
From one by striveinge howe you may remove
My love from him whose nowe I am, for hee
That is no friend to him is none to mee.
Thus farr to satisfie the feeleing paine
Which in your letter seemes soe to complaine,
And speakes for you with pittie more than witte,
Have I an answere made, though farr unfitte ;
Unfitt, consideringe whoe, and whose, I am ;
Unfitt both for your comfort and my name.
Be not deceiv'd, nor take your hope by this,
For, doeing soe, in truth you doe amisse.
If fate had mark'd mee your's, full well you knowe
Your earnest suit had wonne mee long agoe :
But 'twas not soe ordain'd ; then 'twere uneven
To strive against the ordinance of heaven.
'Twas not the fortune of your lowe descent
Your happe in haveing mee did not prevent :
Full well I knowe report in no wise can
Deny your father's sonne a gentleman.
Both hee and you have well deserv'd the same
By ancient titles, and by worthie fame,
And such you are, but what is that to mee
To withstande destinie, or fate's decree ?
The many honnours donne unto our House
Make me not proude, nor being a new spouse

To my new Lorde: 'tis not an auncient seate
Of glorie, but of vertue makes us greate.
Then herein, to add greatness to your blood,
Conquer desire; be greate in beinge goode;
And you shall herein much more honor finde,
Makeinge your passions subjecte to your mynd,
Than if thou were term'd noble, which lov'd stile
Is, without vertue's dresse, accompted vile.
In breefe, whereas you write the fatall strife,
'Twixt love and my disdaine have doom'd your life;
Herein my minde is, I would have you knowe it,
Poorlie meethinke you strive to play the poet;
And poets, I have heard, in such a case,
Hold flattery and lieinge the best grace;
For they are men forsooth have wordes to peirce
And wound a stony heart with softning verse.
They can worke wonders, and to tricke will move
A marble hart: they teach the art of love:
They can write sonnetts, and with warbling rymes
Make woemen as lighte as are the times;
And, if I bee not then deceived much,
Your last lines intimate you to bee such:
If you bee such, then I beleeve with ease
That you canne die for love, if that you please.
Then dye as poets doe, in sighes, (false fee
To corrupt truth) in sonnetting aye mee;
With such like pretie deathes, whose trimme disguise
May barter yeilding hartes, and blind soft eies.
No, no, I never yett could heare or prove
That there was ever any died for love;
Nor would I have you be the man begine
The earnest daunce for such a sportive sinne:
For what would prove a laughter for an age;
Stuffe for a play; fitt matter for a stage.
But, that I may not spend my time in words,
Thus much my leisure and my witte affordes,
To make you thinke the paines you did employ
Were not all spent on one both nice and coy.
In honourable meaninge nowe it restes
That you for worthe's sake graunt mee two requests:

First, to desist your suit, and give less scope
To the licentious aptness of your hope;
Next, that you dare not to attempt the passage
Of more replies, by letters, or by message.
The first suite I'll entreate it at your hand,
And for the latter of them, I'le commaunde.
In doeing which you give me cause to say
That some thoughts on you are not cast away:
Else, all my love is firmelie plac'd, therefore
Hope for no favour—I will love no more.

Sir George Rodney, before hee killed himselfe.

What shall I doe that am undone?
Where shall I flie, myselfe to shunne?
Ah mee! myselfe, myselfe must kill,
And yett I die against my will.
In starry letters I behold
My death in the heavens enroll'd:
There finde I, wrytt in skies above,
That I, poore I must die for love.
'Twas not my love deserv'd to die;
O no, it was unworthie I.
I for her love should not have dy'de,
But that I had no worth beside.
Ah mee! that love such woes procures,
For without her no love endures.
I for her vertues her doe serve,
Does such a love a death deserve?

The Countess is said to have accepted a succeeding lover of a milder cast, with less coyness, yet with unstained honour. Lodowick Stuart, then Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Richmond and Lenox, paid his addresses to her in the chaste and mysterious spirit of ancient romance, and they were favourably received. "In the Earl her husband's time," says Wilson, "she was often courted by the Duke, who presented many a fair offering to her, as an humble suppliant; sometimes in a blue coat with a basket-hilt sword; making his addresses in such odd disguises." He

waited long and patiently for her hand, the Earl of Hertford surviving till 1621. She was now perhaps the richest dowager in England, possessing, in addition to considerable property derived from her first husband, a jointure of five thousand pounds a year settled on her by her aged Lord, and, presently after his death, bestowed her abated beauty, and increased wealth, on the Duke of Richmond. She became once more a widow, for the Duke was found dead in his bed on the twelfth of February, 1623-4; and now, again says Wilson, "after his decease, Lennox and Richmond, with the great title of Duchess, gave period to her honour, which could not arrive at her mind, she having the most glorious and transcendent heights in speculation; for, finding the King a widower, she vowed, after so great a Prince as Richmond, never to be blown with the kisses, nor eat at the table, of a subject; and this vow must be spread abroad, that the King may take notice of the bravery of her spirit. But this bait would not catch the old King, so that she missed her aim; and, to make good her resolution, she speciously observed her rule to the last."

The same author informs us that "when she was Countess of Hertford, and found admirers about her, she would often discourse of her two grandfathers, the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, recounting the time since one of her grandfathers did this; the other did that. But if the Earl, her husband, came in presence, she would presently desist; for, when he found her in those exaltations, to take her down, he would say, 'Frank, Frank, how long is it since thou wert married to Prannel?' which would damp the wings of her spirit, and make her look after her feet, as well as gaudy plumes. One little vanity," adds Wilson, "of this great Duchess may yet crowd in this story—She was a woman greedy of fame, and loved to keep great state with little cost; for, being much visited by all the great ones, she had her formality of officers and gentlemen that gave attendance, and this advantage, that none ever eat with her; yet all the tables in the hall were spread,

as if there had been meat, and men to furnish them; but before eating time, the house being voided, the linen returned into their folds again, and all her people grazed on some few dishes. Yet, where her actions came into fame's fingering, her gifts were suitable to the greatness of her mind; for the Queen of Bohemia, to the christening of whose child she was a witness, had some taste of them; and, being blown up by admiration for this bounty, either by her own design to magnify her merit, or by others, in mockery, to magnify her vanity, huge inventories of massy plate went up and down, from hand to hand, that she had given that Queen, and most believed it, yet they were but paper presents: those inventories had a non est inventus at the Hague: they saw the shell, the inventory, but never found the kernel, the plate. Such difference there is between solid worth, and airy paper-greatness." Wilson, whose anecdotes do not always deserve implicit faith, is probably correct in the view which he has given of this singular lady's character. It involved the strangest contrarieties. We learn from a letter in the Strafford papers, that even in her dying moments she insisted on the observance of all the stately ceremonies to which she had accustomed herself, and was actually surrounded by the officers of her household, bearing white wands, and other ensigns of their respective stations, while a public record informs us that she condescended to accept from James, in partnership with another person, an exclusive patent for coining farthings.

The Duchess of Richmond had no children by either of her husbands. She died on the eighth of October, 1639, and was buried, with the Duke, under a most magnificent monument, erected by herself, in Henry the seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

OB. 1639.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF CORNELIUS JANSEN, IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

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SIR HENRY WOTTON.

Sir Henry Wotton had the happiness to possess one of those rare characters in which it is difficult to say whether the useful or the agreeable were most to be observed. He was equally remarkable for a keen and sober sagacity, a brilliant wit, and a lively and jocose humour. He was not only a profound scholar, but well skilled also in all those elegant and delicate arts a just judgment in which has acquired since his time the appellation of taste. The severity of his studies, and the abstract forms of an academical life, had not prevented him from being one of the best bred men in England. Indeed true politeness is a creature of nature, and not of education; the issue of good sense, joined to a cheerful heart, and a mild and kind temper, all of which he possessed in an eminent degree. In courts, in councils, in society, and in seclusion, his conduct was alike distinguished by a graceful singularity which all wondered at, and scarcely any understood. It was the result of that just estimation of men and things which in fact constitutes true philosophy. He lived beloved, respected, and admired: and descended into the grave with a character wholly unimpeached, and without leaving a single enemy.

His ancestors, and indeed the most of his family, had held considerable employments under the Crown, with the highest reputation, from the reign of Henry the sixth, till his father, who had been repeatedly urged to engage in public service, resolved to sit down in hospitable privacy on his ancient inheritance. That gentleman, Thomas Wotton, of Boughton Malherbe, in Kent, was twice married, and Henry, the subject of this memoir, his fourth, but only son by his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in that county, was born at

Boughton, on the thirtieth of March, 1568. His education, in consequence probably of an early promise of extraordinary genius, was of an higher order than it has been usual in any time to allot to such a younger son. He was removed from the care of a domestic tutor to Winchester school, and from thence, at the age of sixteen, to Oxford, where he was admitted of New College, but resided, according to the frequent usage of that time, in Hart Hall, in the rank of a gentleman commoner. He afterwards studied at Queen's College, with the most rapid success, relieving however the labour of his severer occupations in more lively exercises of his genius, particularly in the composition of a tragedy, to which he gave the title of Tancredo. It is a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held in his college that the provost, at a period when dramatic composition was esteemed even disgraceful, should not only have encouraged him to write that play, but should have even permitted the representation of it, as it should seem, by the students; for Isaac Walton, in his short sketch of Wotton's Life, tells us that " he was by the chief of that college persuasively enjoined to write it for their private use." Walton adds that it was, " for the method, and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared he had in a slight employment given an early and a solid testimony of future abilities." The play however was never printed, and is probably wholly lost.

We have a remarkable proof of the variety of his genius in his success in the three customary lectures read by him on his taking the degree of Master of Arts, the subject of which was the human eye. He treated it at once with such depth of physical knowledge and moral feeling, and with so much poetical and rhetorical elegancy, that the celebrated Italian, Alberico Gentili, then Professor of Civil Law, and under whom he studied in that faculty, gave him the familiar appellation of " Henrico mi Ocelli," and he was better known, during the remainder of his residence in the

University, by that name than by his own. He continued there for two years after his father's death, which happened in 1589, and then set out to make the tour of Europe, with an annual income of one hundred marks derived from that event. He visited France, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, travelling under feigned names, which he frequently changed, and passing always as a Roman Catholic; his immediate view general improvement, and his final object the qualifications for a statesman. It seems probable indeed, from some passages of uncertain import in a few of his letters written during that tour to his friend Lord Zouch, that he was even then in some sort of political correspondence with Elizabeth's ministers, which may account for the air of mystery which he assumed. He remained abroad for several years, and soon after his return, apparently in 1596, the favourite Robert, Earl of Essex, appointed him one of his two secretaries, in which capacity he attended that nobleman in his expeditions against the Spaniards, as well as in his journey to Ireland in 1599. Essex, upon his return from thence, was charged with high treason, and Wotton, who perhaps had good ground to forebode the catastrophe which ensued, fled into France, and from thence went again to Italy, and fixed his residence at Florence. Here he wrote his " State of Christendom, or a most exact and curious discovery of many secret passages and hidden mysteries of the times." It has been thought, and reasonably enough, that he composed that piece in the hope of removing some ill opinions conceived of him by Elizabeth, for it contains in fact a defence of almost every measure of her reign, mixed with the highest eulogies on her wisdom and goodness.

In his former visit to Italy he had become intimately acquainted with a gentleman of the name of Vietta, whom he now found at Florence, in the office of secretary to the Grand Duke. That Prince, not long after Wotton's arrival, had discovered from some intercepted letters a design to poison the King of Scotland, and was anxious to put James on his guard against the assassins.

Vietta recommended Wotton to convey the intelligence; and introduced him to the Duke, from whom he received his instructions, together with such Italian antidotes against poison as had been till then unknown to the Scots. This expedition, which was secretly pregnant with the chief future events of his life, was marked by circumstances of romantic singularity. He assumed an Italian name, and, to avoid observation, particularly by any of his own country, travelled post into Norway, and there embarked for Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. There is a sort of interest in Walton's relation of his introduction to James which any alteration would weaken. "He used means," says Walton, "by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bedchamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty, assuring him that the business which he was to negotiate was of such consequence as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to impart it to his Majesty. This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, he, after a little wonder, mixed with jealousy, to hear of an Italian ambassador or messenger, required his name, which was said to be Octavio Baldi, and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening. When Octavio Baldi came to the presence chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier, which, Italian like, he then wore; and, being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords, standing distant in several corners of the chamber, at the sight of whom he made a stand, which the King observing, bade him be bold, and deliver his message, for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present. Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters, and his message to the King in Italian, which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation, which was promised

and performed by the King, during his abode there, which was three months."

Wotton returned to Florence with James's acknowledgements, and, Elizabeth dying within a few months, that Prince mounted the throne of England. Soon after his arrival in London, having found among the late Queen's servants a Lord Wotton (for she had bestowed a Barony on the elder brother of Henry) in the office of Comptroller of the Household, and being struck by the name, he demanded of that nobleman, to use again the words of Walton "if he knew one Henry Wotton, who had spent much time in foreign travel. The other replied that he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the King asking where he then was, was answered at Venice or Florence; but that by late letters from thence he understood that he would suddenly be at Paris. 'Send for him then,' said the King, 'and when he shall come into England, bid him repair to me.' The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the King if he knew him, to which the King answered, 'You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me.' Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi, saying he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with; and said, 'seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an embassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose, which is to make use of you in that kind hereafter;' and indeed the King did so most of the two and twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance on him, he restored to him his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him."

James indeed amply proved the sincerity with which he had spoken of Wotton's abilities, by giving him the choice of those three missions which were at that precise period the most impor-

tant—to Paris, Madrid, or Venice. He had formed strict friendships with the most eminent men in Italy, and his disposition, as well as his purse, was ill suited to the habits of luxurious and splendid courts: He made his election therefore for the Venetian embassy, and left England in the spring of 1604. Venice was at that time in a state of violent contention with the See of Rome, and James entertained hopes, by fomenting the division, of detaching it wholly from that Church. The celebrated Paul Sarpi, in every way formidable, and not least for being an ecclesiastic, was the chief director at that time of the Venetian counsels; Wotton formed a close intimacy with him; and flattered him by transmitting to James the sheets of his famous history of the Council of Trent as they fell from his pen. In the mean time Paul the fourth, who had succeeded to the papal throne amidst the heat of the feud, issued his sentence of excommunication against the whole Venetian State; and its final separation, which Wotton had earnestly endeavoured to effect, seemed to be at hand, when the Pope suddenly gave way, and the dispute, which had subsisted for some years, was accommodated. Burnet, in his life of Bishop Bedel, who was chaplain to this embassy, ascribes, with the carelessness or the malevolence which equally distinguished him, the failure of James's design to Wotton's negligence or treachery, and has been unwarily followed by Welwood; but the aspersion has been wholly wiped away by Dr. Hickes, in a statement of positive facts, too large to be admitted in this place.

Wotton returned from Venice with undiminished favour, in 1610, when a singular circumstance cast a cloud over his prospects. On his journey thither, passing some days at Augsburgh, he had heen persuaded, in an hour of cheerful relaxation, to write a few words in one of those common depositories of German wit to which they give the name of Alba. The sentence which he chose, certainly unworthy of him, was "Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causâ," which required an English translation to give it even the merit of a pun, the

utmost to which it could be entitled. More than six years had now passed, when Gasper Scioppius, a busy Romanist pamphleteer, happening to see this Album, published the ridiculous conceit in two several invectives against James, as a specimen of the religion and good faith practised by that Prince and his ambassador. James was highly offended, and Sir Henry found it necessary to apologize, which he did with great ingenuity, in a letter to the King, and another to Volser, one of the chief municipal officers of Augsburgh, both of which he printed, and dispersed over Germany; but this trifle is said to have sunk deeply into the mind of James, and certain it is that Wotton remained unemployed, though not wholly unconsulted, for more than four succeeding years. At length in 1615 he was appointed ambassador to the United Provinces, from whence, after a few months' residence, he was recalled, and again dispatched to Venice. He returned in 1617, to solicit fruitlessly for the office of Secretary of State, vacant by the death of Sir Ralph Winwood, and was soon after sent Ambassador extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, and subsequently employed in several missions into Germany, on the unfortunate affairs of the King of Bohemia. The termination of these last labours was marked by a noble instance of his high spirit and disinterestedness. Frederic's hopes having been finally crushed by the issue of the battle of Prague, Wotton was preparing to quit Vienna, when the Emperor, at his audience of leave, gave him a jewel worth more than a thousand pounds, a sum to him, who was always necessitous, of very high importance. He presented it immediately after to an Italian Countess, at whose house he had been by the Imperial order lodged. Before his departure, the Emperor was informed of this remarkable fact, and expressed his displeasure by an official message, to which Wotton answered that "though he had received it from his Majesty with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indispotion to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his royal mistress, the Queen of Bohemia."

He was now once more appointed Ambassador to Venice, where he remained till the death of King James, when he was, to his great grief, superseded, and returned to sue for some permanent appointment the income from which might enable him to pass his declining years in tranquillity. From the hour in which he entered the public service he had been continually vexed by domestic necessities. Several thousand pounds were due to him for his expences in his repeated embassies, and he had long solicited in vain, even for the smallest remittances. His annuity of one hundred marks, his sole patrimony, he had been obliged to sell early in his public life. The reversions of the place of one of the Six Clerks in Chancery, and of the Mastership of the Rolls, had been long promised to him, but the only vacancy which had occurred in the former office had been filled without any regard to his claim, and Sir Julius Cæsar was still Master of the Rolls. The following letter from Wotton to the Duke of Buckingham at that period will best shew the painful circumstances under which he suffered, as well as the ready wit which even so unpropitious a subject could not banish from his pen.

" May it please your Grace,

Having some days by sickness been deprived of the comfort of your sight, who did me so much honour at my last access, I am bold to make these poor lines happier than myself, and withal to represent unto your Grace, whose noble patronage is my refuge when I find any occasion to bewail mine unhappy fortune, a thing which seemed strange to me. I am told, I know not how truly, that his Majesty hath already disposed of the Venetian ambassage to Sir Isaac Wake, from whose sufficiency if I should detract it would be but an argument of my own weakness. But that which herein doth touch me (I am loth to say in my reputation) surely much in my livelyhood, as lawyers speak, is that thereby, after seventeen years of foreign and continual employment, either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly

destitute of all possibility to subsist at home; much like those seal fishes which sometimes, as they say, oversleeping themselves in an ebbing water, feel nothing about them but a dry shore when they awake; which comparison I am fain to seek among those creatures, not knowing among men that have so long served so gracious a master any one to whom I may resemble my unfortunate business. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me some part of your love, so make me worthy in this of some part of your compassion. So I heartily rest,

Your Grace's, &c.

HENRY WOTTON.

At length, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1625, he was appointed Provost of Eton College: a strange provision for a retired statesman, and yet the great Bacon, who was his cousin and friend, had been now his competitor for it. His extreme indigence prevented him for some time from settling himself even in this humble retreat, for his personal liberty was threatened by his creditors. He procured at last, through the means of a man who had been a servant to his brother, the Lord Wotton, and had obtained from that nobleman the office of a clerk of the King's kitchen, five hundred pounds of his arrears from the Crown. A letter from him to his humble benefactor, praying his assistance, is extant. "My face," he says, "for the want of this money, is wrinkled with care; procure it for me, and you shall the next day find me in my college, with Invidiæ Remedium writ over my study door." He could not spare from that sum even sufficient to put the necessary moveables into his apartments, and they were furnished by a contribution among the fellows of the college. Soon after he entered on his office he was ordained a deacon.

To enumerate the particulars of the discipline of a school would be idle, but Sir Henry Wotton's conduct in his new station must not be passed over wholly unnoticed. He seems to have been the first reformer of that illiberal technicality which till his time

prevailed in education; in other words, the first who discovered that justice and beneficence were at least as necessary as vigilance and severity; and that it was possible, in the prosecution of youthful study, to mingle delight with labour. From his first entrance on his unaccustomed and humiliating charge he performed the functions which it required with as much ardour and zeal, and with as scrupulous a circumspection, as if it had been the first object of his ambition, and the constant employment of his life. His hours of leisure were passed in refined conversation, which no man better understood, or more entirely loved; and in literary composition, in all parts of which he excelled. He had projected, and indeed commenced, some extensive works, but left them unfinished. Of those omissions none perhaps ought to be so much regretted as a life of Luther, intended to include the history of the reformation in Germany, which he was prevailed on to lay aside by Charles the first, who persuaded him to undertake a history of England, by a promise of five hundred pounds a year while he should be engaged in it. Little however appears to have been written, and probably less was paid: but we have enough from his pen to authorize us to rank him with the first writers of his age, in a small volume of his pieces in prose and verse, collected, and published after his death, by his great admirer, and brother angler, the excellent Isaac Walton. The most perfect, in all respects, of these, is his treatise on architecture, as unalterably valuable for the soundness of its principles, as delightful for the lively familiarity of its style. The rest are " A View of the Life and Death of George, Duke of Buckingham;" a Parallel between the characters of that nobleman and Robert, Earl of Essex, and an Essay on the " Difference and Disparity" of their " Estates and Conditions," which last however has been said, I know not on what authority, to have been written by the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. A Panegyrick on King Charles the first, presented to that Prince on his return from Scotland in 1633: " Moral Architecture, or a philosophical

survey of Education;" together with "Aphorisms of Education;" both which were framed for an intended large work on that arduous subject: "The Election of the New Duke of Venice, in 1618;" with some small devotional tracts; several Letters; and a very few short poetical pieces.

Mortifying indeed is it that they should be so few, for the fame and value of gems of this nature are not enhanced by their rarity, and many, even among polite readers, have scarcely heard of Sir Henry Wotton as a poet; yet who ever read his verses without regretting that his life had not been wholly dedicated to the muse? No apology then can be necessary for ornamenting this memoir with two brief specimens. The first, addressed "to his mistress, the Queen of Bohemia," is perhaps unequalled for elegance and simplicity by any composition extant of the same order.

You, meaner beauties of the night,
That poorly satisfy our eyes
More by your number than your light,
You common people of the skies,
What are you when the sun shall rise?

You, curious chaunters of the wood,
That warble forth dame Nature's lays,
Thinking your voices understood
By your weak accents, what's your praise
When Philomel her voice shall raise?

You violets, that first appear,
By your pure purple mantles known,
Like the proud virgins of the year,
As if the spring were all your own,
What are you when the rose is blown?

So, when my mistress shall be seen,
In form, and beauty of her mind,
By virtue first, then choice, a Queen,
Tell me if she were not designed
Th' eclipse and glory of her kind.

And how full of truth, and boldness, and beauty, is this living picture: the very carelessness with which it is drawn increases its value. He has inscribed it "A Description of Spring; on a Bank, as I sate fishing."

And now all nature seem'd in love;
The lusty sap began to move;
New juice did stir th' embracing vines;
And birds had drawn their Valentines.
The jealous trout, that low did lie,
Rose at a well dissembled fly.

There stood my friend, with patient skill,
Attending of his trembling quill.
Already were the eaves possest
With the swift pilgrim's daubed nest.
The groves already did rejoice
In Philomel's triumphing voice.

The showers were short; the weather mild;
The morning fresh; the evening smil'd.
Joan takes her neat rubb'd pail, and now
She trips to milk the sand-red cow;
Where, for some sturdy foot-ball swain,
Joan strokes a syllabub or twain.

The fields and gardens were beset
With tulip, crocus, violet;
And now, though late, the modest rose
Did more than half a blush disclose.
Thus all look'd gay; all full of chear;
To welcome the new-liveried year.

Sir Henry Wotton held his office of Provost for fourteen years. Towards the close of his life he besought the King to grant him the reversion of the Mastership of the Savoy, but his death, or perhaps the exertion of some more powerful interest than he could employ, prevented his succeeding to that benefice. His health began to decline in the autumn of 1637, and on the first of October in that year he executed his last will, some legacies in which deserve to be particularly remembered. He bequeathed to the King his pictures of the four Dukes of Venice in whose time he was ambassador to that State, painted by Edoardo Fialetto, together with a portrait of the Duke Leonardo Donato, and a picture of "the Venetian College, where Ambassadors had their audience;" and also his collection of the papers of the eminent statesman, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton; To the Queen, "Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolus, in the best language of Tuscany:" To the Prince of Wales, the portrait of his Aunt, the Queen of Bohemia: To Archbishop Laud, a picture of divine Love: To Bishop Juxon, a picture of Heraclitus and Democritus: To Sir Francis Windebank, "the four seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the eye, in his parlour:" To Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, all his Italian books, and his viol de gamba: To Mr. Nicholas Pey, his "chest, or cabinet of instruments and engines of all kinds of uses; in the lower box whereof are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is:" To the library at Eton, all his manuscripts not before bequeathed. He desired to be buried in the chapel of the College, and that a plain marble

stone should be placed over his remains, with the following inscription, a final proof at once of his wisdom and his wit—

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus Author,
Disputandi Pruritus Ecclesiarum Scabies.
Nomen alias quære.

He survived however for two years, till at length, worn out by repeated attacks of fever and asthma, he departed on or about the fifth of December, 1639. Sir Henry Wotton was never married.

Engraved by W.H.Mote.

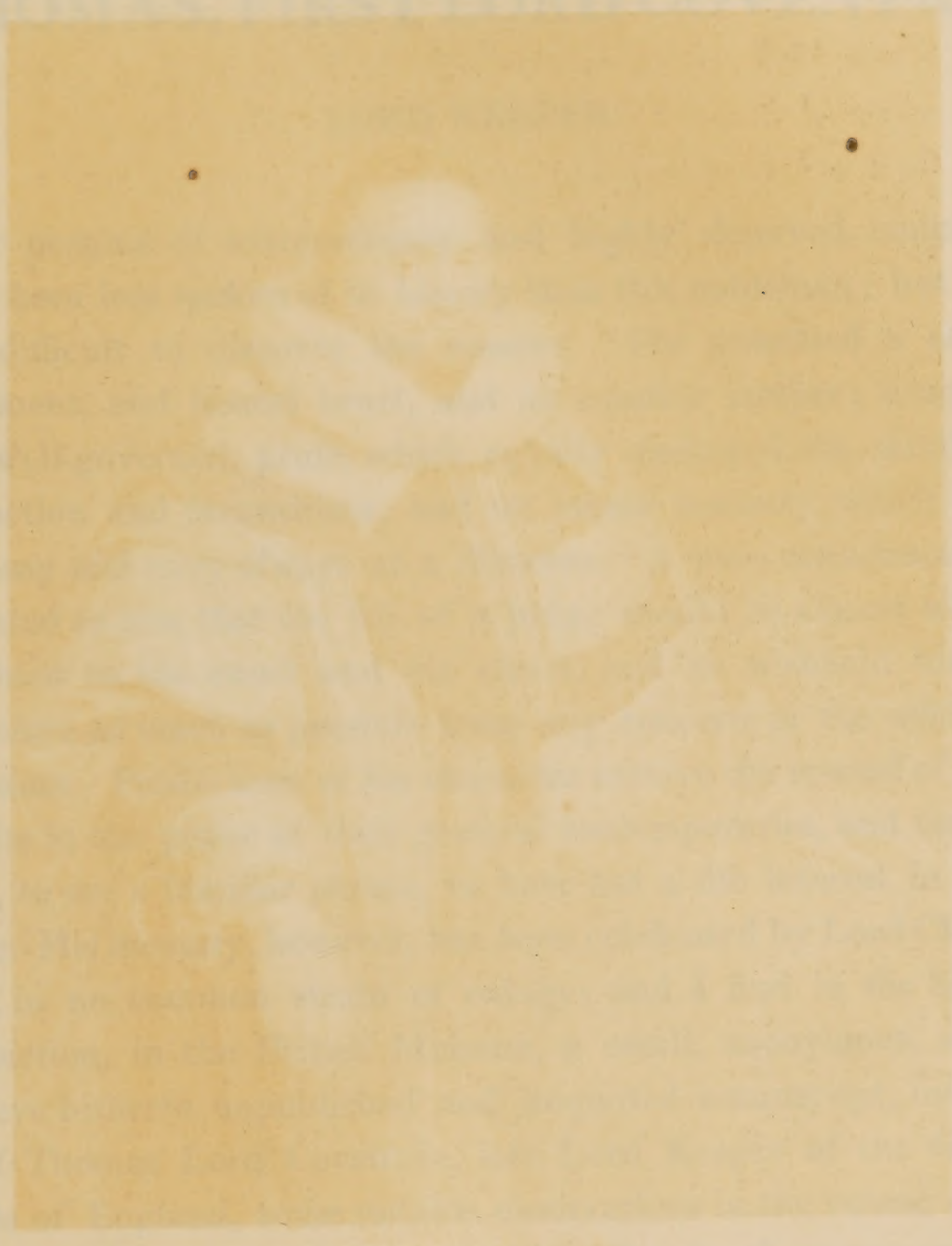
THOMAS, FIRST LORD COVENTRY.

OB.1640.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

London, Published Sept.1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



THOMAS, FIRST LORD COVENTRY,

LORD KEEPER.

Few persons of extraordinary and highly deserved eminence have been less spoken of in history than this nobleman; but it is not difficult to discover the reasons. He possessed a sound judgment, and honest heart, and an equable temper; a manly, but well-governed, pride, which equally disdained the servilities of faction and favouritism; and an innate modesty, which kept jealousy and envy always at a distance. A pure conscience had dictated to him that the life of a judge should be almost wholly confined to his court and his closet, and he withheld himself therefore as much as possible from any concern in the affairs of the state. Public men of his character receive the reward of their merits in the praise of their grateful contemporaries, and may be said, to use a familiar phrase, to have but a life interest in their fame. His memory, however, has been celebrated by Lord Clarendon, in no common strain of eulogy; and I find in the Sloane Collection, in the British Museum, a small, anonymous, and I believe hitherto unpublished and unquoted manuscript, intitled, "Of Thomas Lord Coventrie, late Lord Keeper of the Greate Seale of England, some notable observations in the course of his life, and ultimum vale to the world." But for those two sources of intelligence he would have been nearly unknown to us.

His family derived its surname from the town of Coventry, and its fortune was made by John Coventry, who was born there, became a mercer in London, and served the office of Lord Mayor in 1425. Thomas, a junior descendant from that John, was a lawyer of eminence, and rose to the degree of a Judge of the Common Pleas. He married Margaret, daughter and heir to a

gentleman of the name of Jefferies, of Croome d'Abitot, in the County of Worcester, still the chief seat of the Earls of Coventry, and to them the subject of this memoir was eldest son and heir. He was educated under the eye of his father till the age of fourteen, when he became, in Michaelmas term, 1592, a gentleman commoner of Baliol College, where he remained for three years, and then came to London to study and practise the law, and presently gained the highest reputation in that faculty. " He was of the Inner House of Court," (the Inner Temple) says the Sloane MS. " and no sooner, by an indefatigable diligence in study, attained the barr, but he appeared in the lustre of his profession, above the com̃on expectation of men of that forme, which he made good in the manifestac̃n of his exquisite abilities." It was several years, however, before any mark of public favour was bestowed on him, and it is very probable that the profits of his extensive practice had induced him to decline many; at length, on the seventeenth of November, 1616, he was elected Recorder of London; on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, was appointed Solicitor General; and on the sixteenth received the honour of Knighthood at Theobalds. In 1620 he was promoted to the place of Attorney-general, and, soon after the accession of Charles the First, Buckingham, having prevailed on the King to dismiss his old enemy, Bishop Williams, recommended Coventry to succeed to the station, which had been so long held by that prelate, of Lord Keeper, to which he was appointed on the first of November, 1625. His letter to the Duke, signifying his acceptance of that high office, cannot but be esteemed, in every point of consideration, a singular curiosity. The original remains in the Harleian collection.

" May it please yo^{r} Grace,

I have, according to that liberty and favour w^{ch} yow were pleased to vouchsafe me, seriously thought of that greate and weighty business w^{ch} you propounded att Southampton concerning

myself, and do now returne to yo^{r} Grace that humble and dutifull answere w^{ch} in this space my carefull thoughts have ministred; wherein I must beginn wth a syncere and harty acknowledgeme$\tilde{}$t of that abondant goodnes of his Ma^{tie} that hath bene pleased to cast his eye upon so meane a servant, and so highly to accept those poore services w^{ch}, wth a faythefull hart, but a weake hand, I have desyred to perform to his Ma^{tie}, and his blessed father, as to think of so emmenent an advancement for me, his unworthy minister. And I do likewise acknowledg to yo^{r} Grace all the duty and thankes that can take hold of a faythefull and true hart, that both in this, and in all other occasions that have concerned me, have, out of yo^{r} owne noblenes, interceded for me to his Ma^{tie} and his royall father. And, howsoever the greatnes and weight of that place, beyond mine ability, have putt me into some perplexity of thoughts, yet, from yo^{r} first moc$\tilde{}$on, I did, and ev^{r} shall, blesse and magnifie God, that hath moved the hart of his Ma^{tie} and yo^{r} Grace to be so gracious and indulgente towards me.

Now, concerning the matter itself, I did at Southampton syncerely propound to yo^{r} Grace those reasons, proceeding from myne owne weaknes, w^{ch} might move me to declyne it, and might move his Ma^{tie} to think of a more able and complete man to undergoe so weighty a service: and, having synce that tyme thought thereof again and again, I fynd nothing to abate in me the sense of myne owne infirmities, or to deliv^{r} me from my feares, but his Ma$^{tie's}$ thryce greate grace and goodnes, and the assurance I have of yo^{r} most noble and constant favour. But these, together wth that dutyfull obediens w^{ch} I owe to all his Ma$^{tie's}$ com$\tilde{}$andements, bredd a great conflict in myself against those disabilityes whereof I am most conscious to myself, and have produced in me this resolucion; to lay myself in all humility and submission at the feet of my Soveraigne, to dispose of me as shall seeme best to his owne princely wisdome and goodnes; w^{ch} if it be that way as yo^{r} Grace told me his Highnes did inclyne, I shall

dutifully obey, and faythefully undergoe it; my hope being that God, and the King's Ma^tie^, will beare w^th^ my infirmities, and accept my true hart, and willing endevour: and, if his Ma^tie^ shall determyne otherwise, as it may be much better for his servyce and the publique, so it wilbe more agreable to my course of lief and disposic~on, and to that more private way w^ch^ my thoughts have bene addicted to; and, w^ch^ way ever it fall, I wilbe, as I am most bounden,

Yo^r^ Grace's most humble and faythefull servant,

Kingsbury, THOMAS COVENTRYE."
13 *Septe~b~r,* 1625.

Some fugitive political pieces of his time, or shortly after, have placed him among the creatures of Buckingham, but the imputation is wholly unsupported by any respectable historical evidence. In the letter before us, written on an occasion so likely to produce, and perhaps almost to justify, the hyperbolical flattery which was so much the fashion of that day, we find only the manly expressions of a genuine gratitude, and a respectful courtesy. But we can have no better proof of the untruth of the charge than from an anecdote in the pamphlet of Sir Anthony Welden, who never failed to vilify, and sometimes very falsely, those whom the Duke peculiarly favoured, or by whom he was notoriously courted. Buckingham, according to that writer, had endeavoured to persuade the King to grant to him the dormant appointment of Lord High Constable, an office of such exorbitant power that royalty itself had been known to tremble at it. The Lord Keeper had honestly advised the King to refuse: " but Buckingham's ambition," continues Welden, " would not be so bounded; for, upon the opposing it by Coventry, he peremptorily thus accosted him, saying, ' who made you, Coventry, Lord Keeper?' He replied, ' the King.' Buckingham sur-replied, ' It's false, 'twas I did make you; and you shall know that I, who made you, can, and will, unmake you.' Coventry thus answered him, ' Did I conceive I held my place by your favour, I would

presently unmake myself, by rendering the seal to his Majesty.' Then Buckingham in a scorn and fury flung from him, saying 'you shall not keep it long;' and surely, had not Felton prevented him, he had made good his word." The few enemies indeed that he had were made so by his independence and his sincerity. The Marquis of Hamilton, "whose interest in the King's affections," to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "was at least equal, and thought to be superior, to any man's; and who had more out-faced the law in bold projects, and pressures on the people, than any other man durst have presumed to do;" never forgave his obstinate refusal to affix the great seal to an illegal patent for an impost invented by the Marquis; and he was hated by the Earl of Manchester, who had been bred a lawyer, and who, according to the same noble writer, "was unhappily too much used as a check upon the Lord Keeper," when he perplexed the counsels and designs of the King's misadvisers by inconvenient objections in law.

But the character given of him by Lord Clarendon, in his glorious review of the court and ministers of Charles, however long, and already many times reprinted, must be repeated here, without diminution.

"He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom, and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the law, at least equally with any man who had ever sate in that place, but had a clear conception of the whole policy of the government both of church and state, which, by the unskilfulness of some well meaning men, justled each the other too much. He knew the temper, disposition, and genius, of the kingdom most exactly; saw their spirits grow every day more sturdy, inquisitive, and impatient; and therefore naturally abhorred all innovations which he foresaw would produce ruinous effects. Yet many who stood at a distance thought he was not active and stout enough in opposing these innovations; for, though by his place he presided in all publick counsels, and was most sharp-sighted in

the consequence of things, yet he was seldom known to speak in matters of state, which he well knew were for the most part concluded before they were brought to that public agitation; never in foreign affairs, which the vigour of his judgement could well have comprehended; nor indeed freely in any thing but what immediately and plainly concern'd the justice of the kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procur'd references to the judges. Though in his nature he had not only a firm gravity but a severity, and even some morosity, yet it was so happily temper'd, and his courtesy and affability towards all men so transcendent, and so much without affectation, that it marvellously recommended him to all men of all degrees, and he was looked upon as an excellent courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manners."

" He had in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange power of making himself believ'd, the only justifiable design of eloquence; so that though he used very frankly to deny, and would never suffer any man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclin'd to gratify when in truth he was not, holding that dissimulation to be the worst of lying, yet the manner of it was so gentle and obliging, and his condescension such, to inform the persons whom he could not satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will and ill wishes. But then this happy temper, and these good faculties, rather preserved him from having many enemies, and supplied him with some well-wishers, than furnish'd him with any fast and unshaken friends, who are always procured in courts by more ardour, and more vehement professions and applications, than he would suffer himself to be entangled with: so that he was a man rather exceedingly liked than passionately loved; insomuch that it never appeared that he had any one friend in court of quality enough to prevent or divert any disadvantage he might be exposed to; and therefore it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to him, that he retired within himself as much as he could, and

stood upon his defence, without making desperate sallies against growing mischiefs which he knew well he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own ruin. To conclude, his security consisted very much in his having but little credit with the king; and he died in a season most opportune, in which a wise man would have prayed to have finished his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the world."

To remove from this character any possible suspicion which might arise of prejudices derived from private friendship, political agreement, or professional intimacy, let us hear the censures of the Sloane MS., written, as we shall see, by one who conceived himself to have received a cruel injury from the object of his praise. It discloses too, and with a pen of no small power, many particulars which Lord Clarendon has omitted.

"The character of his outward man was this—Hee was of a middle stature; somewhat broad and roundfaced; of hayre black; and upright in his comportment and gesture; of complection sanguine, and of a comely aspect and presence. Hee was of a very fyne and grave elocution, in a kinde of gracefull lisping; so that when nature might seeme to cast something of imperfecc̃on on his speech, on due examinac̃on, shee added a grace to the perfecc̃on of his delivery; for his words rather flowed from him in a kind of native pleasingnes then by any artificiall helpe or assistance. Hee was of a very liberall accesse, and to all addresses presented, affable; and, as hee was of a very quick apprehenc̃on, soe was he of an exceeding judicious and expeditious dispatch in all affairs, either of state or of the trybunall; of hearing patient and attentive, and, that w^{ch} is not usually incident to p̃sons of dignitie and place, seldom in any distempered mood, or moc̃on of choller; and it was none of his meanest comendac̃ons that he was an helper, or coadjutor, of counsell at the barr, and understood better what they would have said in the case than what they sometymes did say for their clyents; soe

that there appeared in his constituc̃on a kind of naturall and unaffected insinuac̃on, to creep into the good opinion of all men, rather than any affected greatnes to discountenance any, but never rashly to discontent many. Through the whole course of his life his fortune was so obsequious that it seemed she alwayes waited upon him with a convoy, for in all the stepps of his rise he had ever an even and smooth passage, without any rubb or mate in the check. For his erudition, and acquisic̃ons of art, though all knew hee was learned in the sciences, and most profound in his profession, yet, such was the happines of his constellac̃on, that he rather leaned to his native strength then depended on any artificiall relyance. Without doubt hee was of a most solid and im̃oveable temper, and voyd of all pride and ostentation; neither was he ever in any umbrage or disfavour with his Prince, an argument both of his wisdome and sinceritie; neither in any fraction with his equalls worthie of exception, for that of my Lord of Suffolk's business was an act of his that told the world in how little esteeme hee held greatnes that would justle and stand in competition with justice; and it is remaining among the best of his memorialls that hee alwayes stood impregnable, and not to bee ov̄come by might. Amongst all and the many felicities of his life, that of his short sicknes, and the willing embracement of death with open armes, were of the most remarkable observac̃on, for it is our finis qui coronat opus, and changes our mortalitie into that of imortall glorie: for his sicknes was not contynued with any lingring, or loathsome languishing, nor soe precipitate as that it bereaved him of the abilitie of disposing of his estate to the contentment of his posteritie, or hindred the composing of his thoughts to another and better worlde."

"If in the briefe collection of the state of this noble man's fortune it may fall into suspic̃on that I had some relac̃on to his p̄son, or in some one respect or other was obliged to his . . . . ., I assume the liberty to tender this testimonie to the world—that I nev^{r} had refference at any tyme to his service, onely in such

addresses as fell unto my lott as a suppliant I had ever the honour of a free accesse, with libertie to speake as I could, and as occasion, and the cause required; but, that which best may satisfie the suspicions that I have given myself the least scope of partialitie or flattery, either in favour or affecc˜on, it is that I beleeve noe subject ever suffred in that degree in losse of estate as I myselfe have endured, and onely by a rule of his owne, in suspending my sute in the Starchamber, the cause depending before in chancery, untill it had there a fynall determynac˜on, whereby I was debarred," &c.

" He enjoyed his place," says Lord Clarendon, " with universal reputation," (or, rather, to use the words of Lloyd, who bestows on him a meagre page or two, " his place enjoyed him") " for nearly sixteen years, and sure justice was never better administered." Of all public men, in all times, he seems to have left the most unblemished reputation. The Sloane MS. mentions two grounds of aspersion against him, and two only, and defends him against each; the one, an imputation on his conduct towards some individual suitor, which has been long since forgotten, and of which no hint is any where else to be met with; the other a mere rumour, founded on envious and uncharitable inference. " He had a noble fame," says the MS., " not that he past unaccused, for envy is a constant follower and persecutor of all greatnes, and detracc˜on an utter enemy of desert. The cheif charge against him was that of Bonham Norton, wherein the best and most impartiall judgements consent that his accuser and clyent was much to blame in the error of his accompt between a judge of equitye and a quondam advocate, and in a case where the accuser had before received ample satisfacc˜on by the advantage and rigor of the law." And, in reply to those who had whispered that so great a fortune as his could scarcely have been honestly acquired, we find this passage — " Howsoever, thus much I say: that, could he have been lymmed to the lyfe, and I believe it, wee should not fynd in him much of blemish; and that the mayne

objection vulgarly inferred on the amassinge of his wealth could not well be done in justice, might be answered to the full in this —that, his patrimonie considered, it was the gainefullness of the places he past through, together with the great fortunes of his own, and his sonne's, intermarriages, all concurring, and falling into a frugall family, might soon wipe away all imputac̃ons of the most malignant, and perswade even detracc̃on itself to suffer him to rest in peace, and, as we may charitably beleeve, in glory, as his posteritie surviving remaines in his honor and fortunes." Wood quotes a single line against him from an infamous libel published during the usurpation.

The Lord Keeper Coventry sat for between two and three years in his high office before he was advanced to the peerage, but on the tenth of April, 1628, the dignity of a Baron was conferred on him, by the title of Lord Coventry, of Aylesborough, in the county of Worcester. He died, at Durham House, in the Strand, on the fourteenth of January, 1639-40, and was buried at Croome d'Abitot, having been twice married; first, to Sarah, daughter to Edward Sebright, of Besford, in that county, and sister to Sir Edward Sebright, Bart., by whom he had issue a daughter, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir John Hare, of Stow Bardolph, in Norfolk, and an only son, Thomas, his successor, of whom his mother died in childbirth. "He marryed and interred his first love," says the Sloane MS., "in the fruyt of his primogenitus, now surviving, a Baron and Peere of the realme." He remarried to Elizabeth, daughter to John Aldersey, of Spurstow, in Cheshire, and widow of William Pitchford, a citizen, and, as the same MS. informs us, "lovely, young, rich, and of good fame." She brought him four sons, John, Francis, Henry, and William, of whom the first, third, and fourth, became men of high distinction in the state; and as many daughters, all highly celebrated for their talents and their virtues, particularly the youngest, Dorothy, who, among several eminent persons, seems to stand the first candidate for the pious honour of having written

" the whole Duty of Man," together with the several other valuable treatises acknowledged by the anonymous author of that inestimable work. Those ladies were Anne, married to Sir William Savile, of Thornhill, in Yorkshire, Bart., father, by her, to George, Marquis of Halifax; Mary, to Henry Thynne, of Longleat, in Wiltshire, from which match the Marquisses of Bath; Margaret, to Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury; and Dorothy, to Sir John Pakington, of Westwood, in the county of Worcester, Bart.

Lord Coventry published two or three small pieces which are scarcely worth naming—" An Answer to the Petition against Recusants"—" Perfect and exact Directions to all those that desire to know the true and just Fees of all the Offices belonging to the Court of Common Pleas, Chancery," &c. Many of his speeches in Parliament are also to be met with in print; and a MS. remains among the Sloane papers, written by him, conjointly with Sir Julius Cæsar, intituled " Ordinances for the redress of sundry errors, defaults, and abuses, in the High Court of Chancery."

Engraved by J. Cochran.

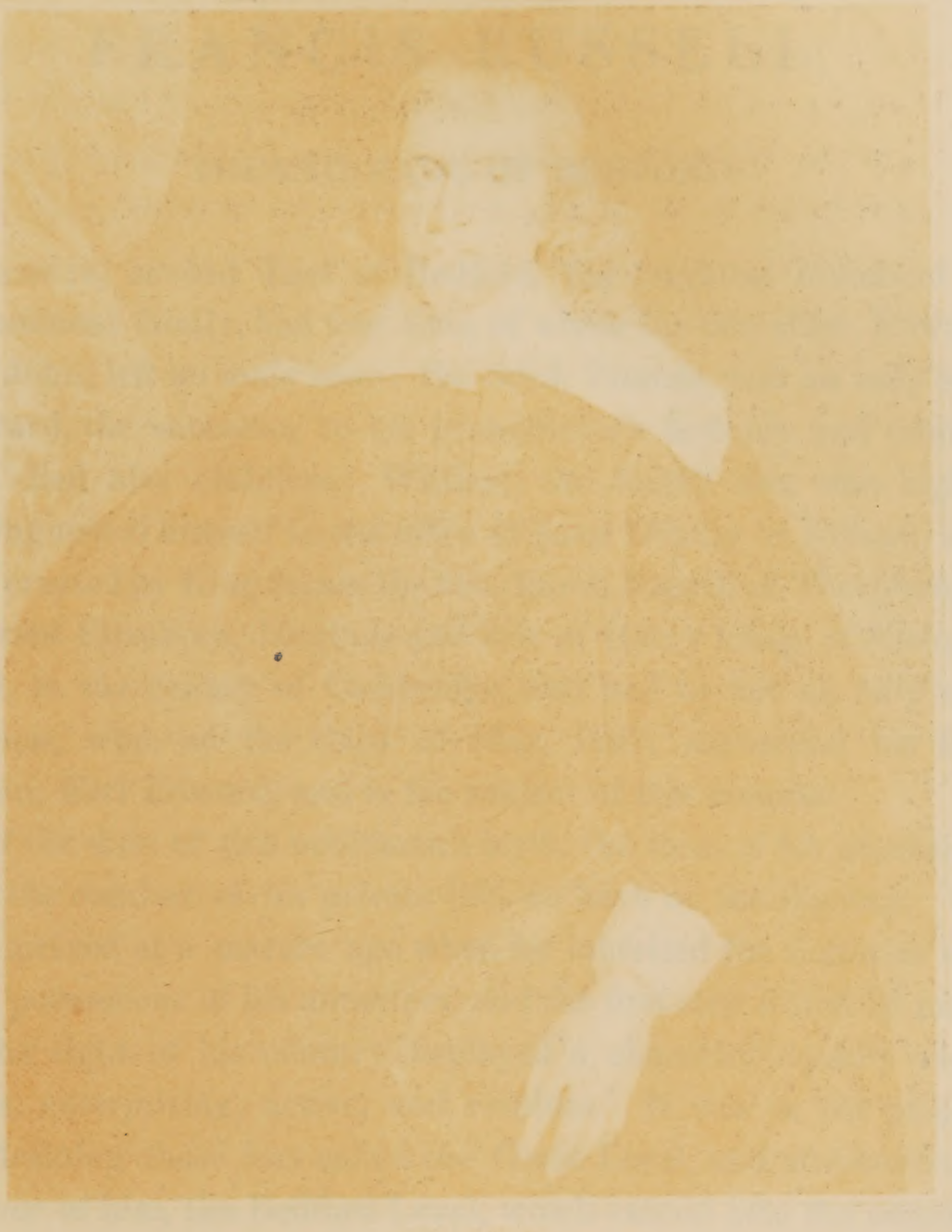
FRANCIS RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1641.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Feb.1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



FRANCIS RUSSELL,

FOURTH EARL OF BEDFORD.

FRANCIS, second Earl of Bedford, the brightest ornament of his eminent family, had four sons, of whom the two elder, Edward and John, left no male issue: the third, Francis, had an only son, Edward, the successor to his grandfather's honours and estates, who died also childless. William, the fourth son, who highly distinguished himself in the office of Lord Deputy in Ireland, and was created by King James the first, Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Henry Long, of Shengay Hall, in the county of Cambridge, and had by her an only son, Francis, who, on the third of May, 1627, succeeded his first cousin, Earl Edward, and is the subject of this memoir.

Of the date of this nobleman's birth, the form of his education, and the conduct of his private life, we have no intelligence. He had arrived at a mature age when he inherited the dignities and vast possessions of his ancestors, and the first step which he made in the sight of his country displayed a character equally sagacious, enterprising, active, and resolute. It was in the project for draining those fens called the Great Level, and afterwards, in honour of him, the Bedford Level, which extend into the counties of Northampton, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Lincoln. Of that stupendous work he was the principal undertaker, and on the first of September, 1630, articles were signed for the performance of it, and ninety-five thousand acres of the inundated land were allotted to him, and to the few whom his example had encouraged to take inferior shares in the enterprise, as the uncertain reward for their labours. In the autumn of 1637 the Earl had expended on it the immense sum of one hundred thousand

pounds, and on the twelfth of October, in that year, it was adjudged at a session of sewers, held at Peterborough, that the work was defective, and the grant of land was reduced to forty thousand acres. He persisted, however, with unabated spirit till the horrors which disfigured the latter years of Charles's reign had put to flight the arts of peace; but the undertaking was resumed in 1649, by his son and successor, to whom, and those concerned with him, the ninety-five thousand acres were regranted in 1653, and on the second of March it was decreed at another session, held at Ely, that it had been at length completely accomplished. All the circumstances of this great enterprise, so important in the history of agriculture and mechanics in England, as well as to the fortunes of this family, may be found in Sir William Dugdale's " History of embanking and draining."

In the great contest between the King and the Parliament, such a man as the Earl of Bedford could not have remained an inactive spectator. His interests, as well as his honour, seemed to require that he should take an active part in it, and his capacious and fervid mind, suddenly detached from the contemplation of a mighty object in private œconomy, pined for employment. He engaged with warmth, not to say violence, with the popular party, and presently became the leader of it in the House of Peers. " He was there," says the Earl of Clarendon, " the great contriver and principal agent of those who were for asserting the liberty of the subject; but a wise man, and of too great and plentiful a fortune to wish a subversion of the government; and it quickly appeared that he only intended to make himself and his friends great at court, not at all to lessen the court itself." In the furtherance of this view, he carried himself towards the King with the most profound respect, and with all professions of loyalty and zeal for his service; and contrived to live in a decent and grave familiarity with the ministers, while in Parliament he decried their measures and their motives with the utmost eagerness. So too, with regard to ecclesiastical matters, while he openly espoused the puritan

faction, the great leader of which, Pym, was his most intimate and confidential associate, as well in private as public life, he was a friend, or at least not an enemy to the legal establishment. "The Earl of Bedford," says Lord Clarendon in another place, "had no desire that there should be any alteration in the government of the church, and had always lived toward my Lord of Canterbury himself with all respect and reverence, and frequently visited and dined with him; subscribed liberally to the repair of St. Paul's church, and seconded all pious undertakings; though, it is true, he did not discountenance notoriously those of the clergy who were unconformable." This nobleman, in fine, who had the fortune to live in an age when patriotism was less frequently professed than practised, may perhaps be properly esteemed the main inventor of a method of opposition too familiar to us of later days, but which then charmed some by its novelty, and others by its apparent impartiality, while it gained some credit with all parties, because there had not yet been time to detect its selfishness and insincerity.

Charles, who possessed more penetration than any of his ministers, for Strafford had been lately dragged from his councils, easily discerned the Earl's motives, and endeavoured to profit by them. He secretly determined to form a new administration, composed chiefly of the most important men in the discontented party, and to place the Earl of Bedford at their head. In the mean time the Earl conducted with the most active assiduity the affairs of his faction, in which he possessed more authority, and was trusted with more confidence than any other of its leaders. He had the chief management of the treaty with the Scottish Commissioners at Ripon, in 1640, on which the Parliament had built so much, and which in fact produced such important results; and, on his return to London, was the foremost, both in public and private, in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford. Archbishop Laud, in his "History of his own Troubles and Trial," says, "This Lord was one of the main plotters of Strafford's death;

and I know where he, with other Lords, before the Parliament sat down, determined to have his blood." This passage has been charged with ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation, because it has been since discovered that the Earl of Bedford had about that time found occasion, as will be presently seen, to engage for Strafford's security; but of this Laud, who, when he made the statement, was a close prisoner, was probably wholly unconscious; or if, indeed, he had been informed of it, there was nothing in his knowledge of that fact to affect the correctness or veracity of his report of the Earl of Bedford's former disposition. The motives which induced the Earl to alter that disposition, and to reconcile himself to the royal interest, are, with an admirable clearness and conciseness, thus explained by Lord Clarendon; and the detail furnishes matter of high curiosity for the history of a mode of party intrigue which was then in its infancy.

"The Earl of Bedford secretly undertook to his Majesty that the Earl of Strafford's life should be preserved, and to procure his revenue to be settled as amply as any of his progenitors, the which he intended so really that, to my knowledge, he had it in design to endeavour to obtain an act for the setting up the excise in England, as the only means to advance the King's profit. This Lord was the greatest person of interest in all the popular party, being of the best estate and best understanding of the whole number, and therefore most likely to govern the rest. He was, besides of great civility, and much more good nature than any of the other. And therefore the King, resolving to do his business with that party by him, resolved to make him Lord High Treasurer of England in the place of the Bishop of London, who was as willing to lay down the office as any body was to take it up; and, to gratify him the more, at his desire, intended to make Mr. Pym Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he had done Mr. St. John his Solicitor General, all which hath been touched before; as also Mr. Hollis was to be Secretary of State; the Lord Say Master of the Wards; and the Lord Kimbolton to be Lord Privy Seal,

after the death of his father, who then held that place. Others were to be placed about the Prince, and to have offices when they fell."

This design, from the fruition of which at that particular point of time the happiest effects might have been expected, was suddenly frustrated by the Earl's death. In the midst of his negotiations with Charles, he was attacked, on the first or second of May, 1641, by a virulent small pox, which terminated his life on the ninth of that month, the very day on which the King, by commission, passed the bill of attainder against Strafford. "God," says Laud, with his usual vehemence, "would not let him live to take joy therein, but cut him off in the morning, whereas the bill for the Earl of Strafford's death was not signed till night." Lord Clarendon, with becoming coolness and impartiality, tells us that "he fell sick within a week after the bill of attainder was sent up to the Lords' house, and died shortly after, much afflicted with the passion and fury which he perceived his party inclined to, insomuch as he declared to some of near trust to him, that he feared the rage and madness of this Parliament would bring more prejudice and mischief to the kingdom than it had ever sustained by the long intermission of Parliaments. He was a wise man, and would have proposed and advised moderate courses; but was not incapable, for want of resolution, of being carried into violent ones, if his advice were not submitted to; and therefore many, who knew him well, thought his death not unseasonable, as well to his fame as his fortune, and that it rescued him as well from some possible guilt as from some visible misfortunes, which men of all conditions have since undergone."

This nobleman married Catherine, daughter and coheir of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos, and by her, who survived him till the twenty-ninth of January, 1653-4, had issue four sons and four daughters. William, his eldest son and successor, was, in his old age, in 1694, advanced to the Dukedom, and from him the present Duke is lineally descended: Francis, the second, married, but

died childless in his father's life-time: John, the third son, who was bred to military service, died unmarried in 1681: and Edward, the youngest, left five sons, of whom the second, Edward, was, for his distinguished naval services, created Earl of Orford, &c. in 1697. The daughters of Earl Francis were Catherine, married to Robert Greville, Lord Brooke: Anne, to George Digby, Earl of Bristol: Margaret, first, to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle; secondly, to Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester, and, thirdly, to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland. Diana, the youngest daughter, became wife to Francis, Lord Newport, ancestor to the extinct Earls of Bradford.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

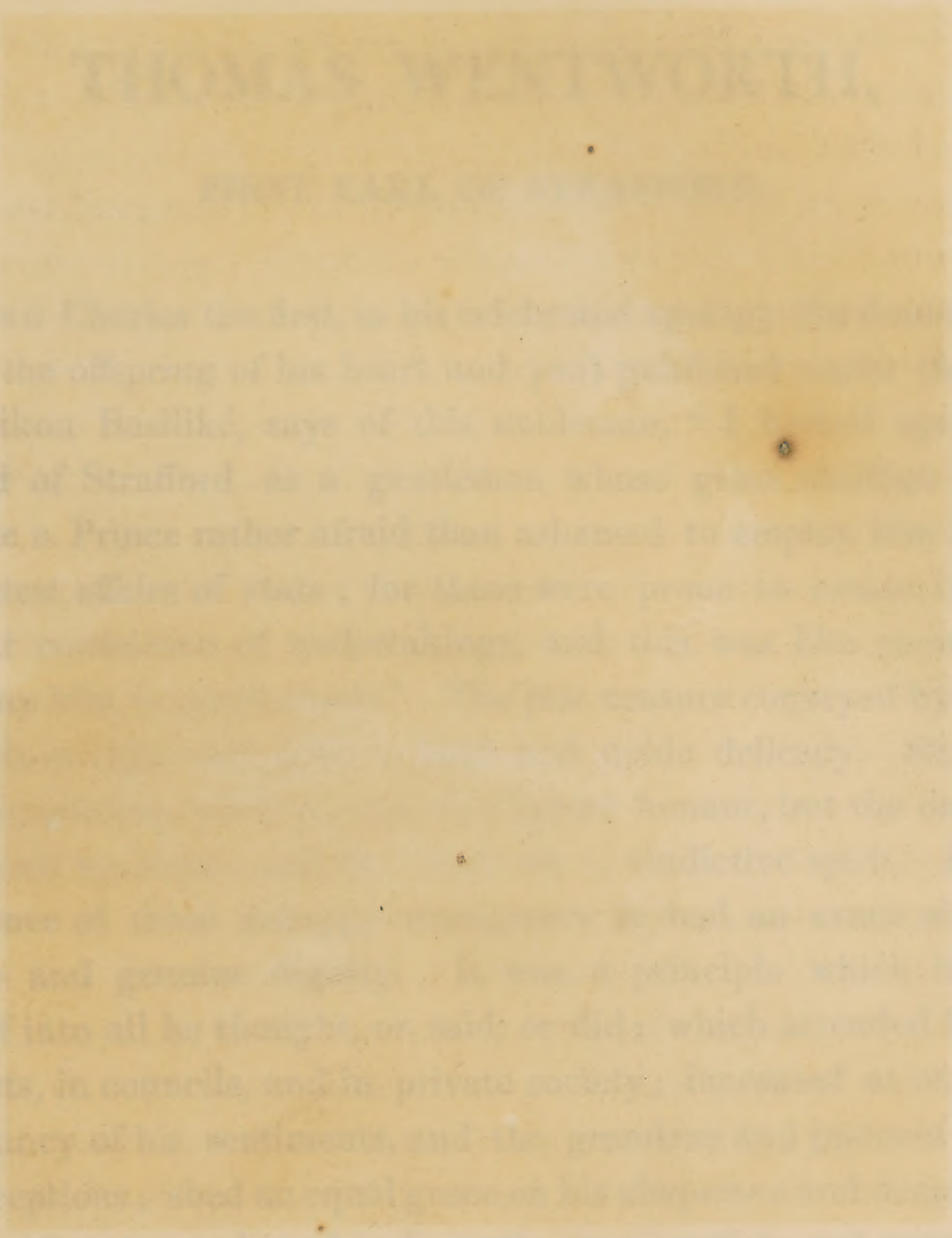
THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD.

OB. 1641.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published June 1, 1832, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



THOMAS WENTWORTH,

FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

KING Charles the first, in his celebrated apology (for doubtless it was the offspring of his heart and pen) published under the title of Eikon Basiliké, says of this nobleman, "I looked upon my Lord of Strafford as a gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of state; for those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors." The just censure conveyed by these words is expressed with a kind and noble delicacy. Strafford possessed deep wisdom, and the highest honour, but the one was clouded by choler, and the other by a vindictive spirit. In the absence of those unhappy weaknesses he had an exact sense of pure and genuine dignity. It was a principle which infused itself into all he thought, or said, or did; which attended him in courts, in councils, and in private society; increased at once the elegancy of his sentiments, and the grandeur and justness of his conceptions; shed an equal grace on his eloquence and demeanour in the Senate, and on his domestic conversation and economy; added weight to his advice, and vigour to his action. This, in milder times, would have been in such a man a virtue; but when a mutual interchange of condescension was necessary between King and people; when parties were to be reconciled, and confidence restored, and the changing events and humours of each day required a pliancy of manners, as well as temper, to meet their various irregularities; its effects were highly pernicious. No public minister ever sought the welfare of the State with

more constant sincerity, or with less regard to his own private interests, and few have been so ill requited: for he, as well as his royal master, perished in the defence of the political establishment, or, to use a term of modern invention, of the constitution, of that day, and posterity has not yet fully rendered justice either to his conduct or his motives.

He descended from the senior line of one of the most ancient and powerful families of the order of English gentry; was the eldest son of Sir William Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, in Yorkshire, by Anne, daughter of Robert Atkinson, of Stowell, in Gloucestershire, an eminent Barrister, and a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn; and was born in that gentleman's house, in Chancery Lane, on the thirteenth of April, 1593. His education, the early part of which he seems to have received at home, was completed at St. John's College, in Cambridge, on leaving which he passed nearly two years in France, not extending his travels beyond that country, and returned in the spring of 1613. His father died towards the conclusion of the following year, when he inherited, together with the title of Baronet, an estate to the full annual amount of six thousand pounds, largely charged however with portions for younger children. A man of such property, possessed too of splendid talents, was not likely to remain long undistinguished, at least by provincial honours. In 1615, Sir John, afterwards Lord, Savile, who had misconducted himself in his post of Custos Rotulorum for Yorkshire, was obliged to relinquish that office, to which Sir Thomas Wentworth was immediately appointed. Savile ascribed his disgrace to his successor, and, by some channel of interest now forgotten, prevailed on the Duke of Buckingham to move the King to reinstate him, and the favourite wrote to Wentworth soliciting him for that purpose to resign. He replied by a long and spirited statement, and Buckingham conceded for the time, but the affair produced a mortal enmity between them, which subsisted till the Duke's death, and perhaps contributed not a little to form the line of political

conduct first adopted by Wentworth. In 1621 he was chosen to represent the County of York, and again in 1625, in the first Parliament of Charles the first. He resolutely opposed in the House of Commons all those measures of the Court the doubtful legality of which was now discussed in that assembly with a boldness and freedom hitherto unknown, and was already considered as a chief leader, which indeed was every where his natural station, of the party which he had espoused, when that Parliament was dissolved. He was disqualified from sitting in the next by the appointment of High Sheriff, which was forced on him purposely to that effect; and had no sooner entered on the duties of his unwelcome office than a writ was put into his hands, even while he was presiding on the bench in a County Court, to remove him from his place of Custos Rotulorum. The speech by which in the instant he disclosed this insult to the Magistrates and others then assembled is published in the "Strafford Papers," and furnishes an admirable specimen of the greatness of mind, ready wit, and powerful expression, which always distinguished him.

These injuries, which had been inflicted at the suggestion of Buckingham, excited Wentworth's resentment to the utmost, and naturally sharpened his opposition to those public measures in the direction of which his enemy was known to have so large a share. In the close of the succeeding year, on his stedfast refusal to pay the sum charged on him by a loan levied without the authority of Parliament, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and afterwards restricted for several months to a space not exceeding two miles round the town of Dartford, in Kent. Soon after his release however he was a third time elected by the County of York, to serve in the Parliament which met in the spring of 1628, and renewed his efforts for the popular cause in the House of Commons with much apparent zeal, particularly in forwarding, by the utmost exertions of argument and eloquence, the memorable Petition of Right, which it is well known was granted by Charles

in its fullest extent. He now declared his opinion that the country ought to be satisfied with the concessions that it had obtained from the Crown; suddenly abandoned a party the violence of which he too well knew to expect that it should yield to his suggestions; and offered his services to the King, who, pressed on all sides by difficulties, received him with open arms; forms of reconciliation passed between him and Buckingham, over whom the assassin's dagger then hung; and, on the twenty-second of July, 1628, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron, and, on the tenth of the following December promoted to that of Viscount Wentworth. Within very few weeks after those dignities had been conferred on him, he was appointed Lord President of the North, Lieutenant of the County of York, and a Privy Counsellor.

These extraordinary circumstances excited, as might be expected, in the two great opposing parties censures which agreed in nothing but the vehemence with which they were uttered. Wentworth was branded by the popular faction with the odium of a traitor and an apostate, while the royalists held, or affected to hold him as a politician wholly guided by wisdom and virtue, and doubtless, as is usual in such cases, he was misrepresented by each. He had in fact been always earnestly attached to monarchy. The splendour that surrounds a Throne; the air of generosity which gilds the manners of a Court; the dignified submission of counsellors who own but a single superior; and the power necessarily annexed to the station of such ministers; were all well suited to the loftiness of his ardent mind. On the other hand, the part which he had hitherto taken in the House of Commons was as consistent with the strictest loyalty as it was with true patriotism and with common sense, nor had parliament yet been disgraced by the practice of bartering opposition for favour and employment. It is an historical fact that he quitted the popular party at the precise moment when the power of the Crown had been reduced to a wholesome standard, and all the just claims of the

people satisfied. There was a remarkable agreement between the most important features of the King's character, and his own, and it was always allowed, even by Charles's most implacable enemies, that he was a Prince in whose service there was no danger of derogation from honour. Rushworth, a writer not to be suspected of partiality to Wentworth, speaking of his accession to the royal cause, says "His arguments for the rights of the subject were mixed with so dutiful an appearance of the highest concern and honour both for his King and country as made him generally esteemed, and begot him an interest in his sovereign; whereupon Sir Richard Weston, about that time made Lord Treasurer, with much application sought his acquaintance and friendship. After their first interview they engaged in a near familiarity; and soon after it happened that in some conferences touching the popular humour then appearing in the House of Commons, and the measures they were on tending to no good, Sir Thomas Wentworth proposed such candid and rational measures to be followed in that exigence of affairs as ever after caused his judgement on all occasions to be much valued, and his advice pursued." Lord Clarendon, however, with that candour which, amidst so many perfections is the chief ornament of his noble history, thus admits that the change in his political conduct was not wholly uninfluenced by private motives. "His first inclinations and addresses to the Court were only to establish his greatness in the country, where he apprehended some acts of power from the Lord Savile, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a Privy Counsellor, and officer at Court; but his first attempts were so prosperous that he contented not himself with being secure from the Lord's power in this country, but rested not till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in Court, and so sent him down, a most abject disconsolate old man, to his country, where he was to have the superintendancy over him too, by getting himself at that time made Lord President of the North." To quit the subject of Wentworth's political

change, I will observe that the strongest presumption of its sincerity may be fairly founded on the strict uniformity of his subsequent public conduct.

The King, now deprived of Buckingham, received Lord Wentworth into the most unlimited confidence. On the tenth of April, 1632, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Falkland having been removed from that office to make way for him, as was soon after Lord Wilmot from the station of General in chief, which was also conferred on him. He was invested with powers never before granted to any governor of that country, the exercise of which was left almost wholly to his discretion. Before his departure, he drew in his closet that system by which he proposed to govern a distracted and discontented country. It was full of wisdom and boldness, and received the King's implicit approbation. He prevailed on Charles to permit him to call a Parliament, and the Irish, who had not for many years been flattered by that sign of freedom, hailed him as the restorer of their independence, and granted supplies with an alacrity equal to the reluctance which then impeded all financial measures at home. All parties have agreed that Ireland had never before been so wisely or so beneficently governed, and the Deputy himself, with an honest pride, boasted of the success of his unremitting endeavours: "Very confident I am," says he, in a letter to the Lord Danby, "that his Majesty hath now made himself more absolute master of this kingdom by his wisdom than any of his progenitors were ever able to do by their swords."

Amidst the general conciliation, however, inspired by the mildness and prudence of his administration, instances of severity occurred which have left a stain on his memory. Patient amidst the difficulties and solicitudes of the government of a State, Wentworth lost his magnanimity on occasions of personal offence, and even made his state authority an instrument of private vengeance. One of his gentlemen ushers, and an officer in his own regiment of horse, a Mr. Annesley, related to the Lord

Mountnorris, having accidentally hurt him in removing a stool on which he had rested his foot, in the ceremony of meeting the Parliament, Lord Mountnorris, a few days after, said at the Lord Chancellor's table, alluding to some reprehension which his kinsman had previously received from Wentworth on a matter of military discipline, "perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront which the Lord Deputy had done him formerly; but he has a brother who would not take such a revenge." These words were interpreted as conveying a threat against the Deputy's life. A formal accusation to that effect was submitted to a council of war, Lord Mountnorris happening to have the command of a regiment. He was convicted, on an overstrained application of some articles of a military code lately instituted: stripped of his military rank and offices; and condemned to be shot or beheaded, at the pleasure of the Lord Deputy. The Viscount Loftus, Chancellor of Ireland, having, in a moment of irritation, charged him at the Council Board with some partial interference in a suit concerning the Chancellor's family then pending before that body, and, on the Deputy's denial, having rejoined "I wish to God I had not found it so," was subjected to a tedious imprisonment; endeavoured in vain to obtain his release by the most humiliating apology perhaps ever penned by a great public officer; and fell in the end, into utter disgrace. On these misapplications of authority Lord Clarendon remarks that Wentworth "had been compelled, upon reason of state, to exercise many acts of power, and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Mountnorris; the first of which was satis pro imperio, but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unbeloved, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of sovereignty that in a time of peace had been ever executed by any subject."

In June, 1636, he returned for a time to England; and rendered to the King, in Council, an exact statement of all the matters of

his government, together with his further designs for the benefit of Ireland, and for the advancement of the royal interests there, all which was received with expressions of the highest approbation and gratitude. He took this opportunity to renew to the King his suit for an Earldom, for he had asked fruitlessly for that dignity two years before, and now prefaced his request by observing that such a mark of his master's favour would silence his enemies, and be an apology for those acts of violence which have been just now spoken of, and some others with which he had been charged, but he was again refused. Charles's answers to his applications have been preserved, and are pieces of considerable interest: the first, for the firmness with which that accomplished and unfortunate Prince asserts his resolution to be the sole dispenser of his own favours; the second, for sound sense and argument: and both, for elegant conciseness of expression.

——"Now I will begin," says Charles, in concluding a letter of business from Hampton Court, of the twenty-third of October, 1634, "concerning your suit, though last come to my hands. And, first, for the form; that is to say in coming to me not only primarily but solely, without so much as acquainting any body with it, the bearer being as ignorant as any. This I do not only commend, but recommend to you to follow always hereafter, at least in what concerns your own particular; for to servants of your quality, and some degrees under too, I allow of no mediators, though friends are commendable, for the dependance must come merely from me and to me. And, as for the matter, I desire you not to think that I am displeased with the asking, though for the present I grant it not; for I acknowledge that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambitions; and be confident that your services have moved me more than it is possible for any eloquence or importunity to do; so that your letter was not the first proposer of putting marks of favour on you; and I am certain that you will willingly stay my time, now you know my

mind so freely, that I may do all things a mi modo; and so I rest your assured friend,

CHARLES R."

The second denial, dated from Lyndhurst, the third of September, 1636, is as follows.

" Wentworth,

Certainly I should be much to blame not to admit so good a servant as you are to speak with me, since I deny it to none that there is not a just exception against; yet I must freely tell you that the cause of this desire of your's, if it be known, will rather hearten than discourage your enemies; for if they can once find that you apprehend the dark settling of a storm when I say no, they will make you leave to care for any thing in a short while but for your fears; and, believe it, the marks of my favour that stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants. This is not to disparage those favours, for envy flies most at the fairest mark, but to shew their use; to wit, not to quell envy, but to reward service, it being truly so when the master without the servant's importunity doth it; otherwise men judge it more to proceed from the servant's wit than the master's favour. I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman, courtier, or a lover—never make a defence or apology before you be accused; and so I rest your assured friend,

CHARLES R."

There is somewhat of sharpness in these letters that might seem inconsistent with the affectionate friendship which the King certainly entertained for Wentworth, but Charles's personal attachments were coloured by the seriousness of his nature, and regulated by a discerning judgement. He saw the errors of Wentworth's character, and endeavoured to correct them by the wholesome

chastisement of parental authority. Wentworth returned in the succeeding November, mortified, but with unshaken fidelity, to Ireland, where the altered complexion of affairs called him to the performance of duties which had not hitherto been necessary. The infection of the Scottish rebellion had been communicated to that island, especially in the province of Ulster, the inhabitants of which were mostly of Scottish descent, and professed the persuasion of the Kirk. By equal exertions of prudence and firmness he averted the danger. He obliged all the Scots resident in Ireland to take an oath of allegiance, by which they also abjured "all covenants, oaths, or bonds of mutual defence and assistance against any persons whatsoever by force, without his Majesty's sovereign and regal authority;" entered into a direct correspondence with the great leaders of the discontented in Scotland, and considerably damped their designs on the Irish by his persuasions or menaces; took the most vigorous measures for equipping an army; and totally frustrated for the time the hopes of the rebellious party. These arduous occupations consumed nearly three years, and in the month of September, 1639, he passed over, by the King's private command, to England. He now obtained that rank in the Peerage which he had so long and earnestly desired: on the twelfth of the following January he was created Earl of Strafford, to which title was added that of Baron of Raby, and his office of Deputy of Ireland was at the same time dignified by the more lofty style of Lord Lieutenant.

Charles's affairs were at that precise epoch in a state of the most critical urgency, and his servants weak, timid, or disaffected. Among them Laud alone possessed at once talents, boldness, honesty, and loyalty, but his breeding had been that of a churchman, his political views were narrow, and his temper, as well as his habits, inclined him to intolerance. Between him and Strafford the closest friendship had long subsisted, and the King, hoping that the enlarged mind of the one might correct the occasional errors of the other, now determined to make them

the joint depositories of his entire confidence, and Strafford the main adviser of his government. The Earl was accordingly received into the Cabinet, and became in the instant the ostensible chief minister. He proposed an immediate war with the Scottish rebels; that Parliaments might be summoned without delay both in England and Ireland; and that, as the supplies expected to be granted would be long in levying, a sum should be raised by voluntary contribution among the nobility, and especially the King's immediate servants, to furnish the means for the war, and other pressing exigencies of the State. All was implicitly agreed to, and Strafford, after having subscribed twenty thousand pounds, departed once more for Ireland, and arrived in Dublin on the eighteenth of March, 1640, where he immediately met the Parliament, which cheerfully gave him four subsidies. He appointed a Council of War for that country, and gave orders for the raising eight thousand foot, and five hundred cavalry, to be sent into Scotland, together with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, of the standing army of Ireland, the whole to serve under his command. He arranged these great affairs in the space of one fortnight, and quitting that country, never to return to it, embarked, in very bad health, on the third of April, and reached London, in a litter, about the middle of that month.

He found the English Parliament, which had been called by his advice, then sitting, and a powerful opposition in the House of Commons to Charles's requisition of supplies. His illness had scarcely permitted him to communicate with the King on the posture of affairs, when his Majesty, prompted by the misrepresentations of Herbert, his Solicitor General, but, more especially of Sir Henry Vane, then one of his Secretaries of State, and without taking the advice of any others, suddenly dissolved the Parliament. It was believed by many, perhaps extravagantly, that Vane had been prompted to counsel this measure by his implacable hatred to the Earl of Strafford. Jealousies and disgusts had long

subsisted between them, and his enmity to that nobleman had been sealed by Strafford's imprudent, and possibly perverse acceptance of the Barony of Raby, to which Vane, from some circumstances of his descent, thought he rather ought to have been preferred. Be this as it might, the dissolution of that Parliament was a severe blow to Strafford. The share he was known to have had in procuring it had added popularity to his power. Even the republican Whitelock confesses in his "Memorials" that "the Earl of Strafford, for preventing the growth of the present evils, highly approved and magnified the King's resolution of taking the advice of his Parliament of England, and had the honour of the people's good opinion for it." But the chief misfortune was that it distracted and disconcerted in great measure the comprehensive and well digested plan which he had laid for the restoration of order and tranquillity, under a royal government.

The disappointment, together with the malice of the popular party, which could never for a moment forget the discredit, as well as the loss, that they had suffered by his secession, perhaps induced him now to accept a military command. It had in the preceding year become indispensably necessary to send troops against the Scots, who were preparing with much activity to invade the northern counties. That expedition had been shamefully mismanaged, and was concluded by a disgraceful treaty, which could scarcely be considered more than a suspension of hostilities. The King, who was already at York, determined at length to lead in person his army against them, and Strafford was appointed Lieutenant General, under the Earl of Northumberland, who was named to the chief command, but was prevented by a sudden and dangerous illness from assuming it. Strafford therefore entered on it, still retaining the commission of Lieutenant. Lord Clarendon informs us that "he was scarce recovered from a great sickness, yet was willing to undertake the charge, out of pure indignation to see how few men were forward

to serve the King with that vigour of mind they ought to do; but knowing well the malicious designs which were contrived against himself, he would rather serve as Lieutenant General under the Earl of Northumberland than that he should resign his commission; and so, with and under that qualification, he made all possible haste towards the north, before he had strength enough for the journey." On his arrival in Northumberland he met the army shamefully flying, even without resistance, before the Scots, who had possessed themselves of Newcastle; and now, again says Lord Clarendon, "those who by this time no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the army against him, and so far prevailed in it that in a short time it was more inflamed against him than against the enemy; and was willing to have their want of courage imputed to excess of conscience; and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the quarrel was the only cause that they fought no better. In this indisposition in all parts, the Earl found it necessary to retire with the army to the skirts of Yorkshire, and himself to York, whither the King was come, leaving Northumberland and the Bishoprick of Durham to be possessed by the victors." Charles, however, boldly testified his approbation of Strafford's endeavours in this service by immediately conferring on him the Order of the Garter, into which he was elected at York, on the twelfth of September, 1640.

It was now that the King took the unusual step of summoning a great council of all the Peers, to meet him at York, and to take into their consideration his state, and that of the country. In that assembly, as well as by his private advice to the King, Strafford earnestly recommended the calling another Parliament, which it was at length agreed should meet on the third of November. It was determined also to propose a treaty to the Scots, and that it should be held at York, but they declined it, alledging that they doubted the safety of their Commissioners in a city where Strafford, who had proclaimed them traitors in

Ireland, kept his head quarters. This declaration was esteemed to be, and indeed it was so intended, a public denunciation of vengeance against him by that people: It was agreed to hold the treaty at Ripon, from whence, unhappily for Strafford, and indeed for the country, it was soon after adjourned to London. The meeting of the Parliament, for ever miserably distinguished in English history by the title of the Long Parliament, approached, and it became a question in the Cabinet whether Strafford should attend it, or remain with the army. Whitelock, the fairest of the rebel writers, gives a more full account of the decision of that question than is to be found elsewhere, and there seems to be no reason to doubt its fidelity. "The time of the meeting of the Parliament," says Whitelock, "drawing near, it was considered at York whether the Earl of Strafford should repair to the House, or continue in the North with the army. The King was earnest for his going up to the Parliament, as one of whose services he should have great occasion, and placed such confidence in his faithfulness and abilities. The Earl humbly desired his Majesty to excuse his going to the Parliament, alledging that he should not be able to do his Majesty any service there, but should rather be a means to hinder his affairs, in regard he foresaw that the great envy and ill will of the Parliament, and of the Scots, would be bent against him, whereas if he kept out of sight he would not be so much in their mind as he should be by shewing himself in Parliament; and, if they should fall upon him, he being at a distance, whatsoever they should conclude against him, he might the better avoid, and retire from any danger, having the liberty of being out of their hands, and to go over to Ireland, or to some other place where he might be most serviceable to his Majesty; but if he should put himself into their power by coming up to the Parliament, it was evident that the House of Commons, and the Scots, with all their party, especially being provoked by his coming among them, would presently fall upon him, and prosecute his destruction. The King, notwithstanding these

reasons, continued very earnest for Strafford's coming up to the Parliament, for which he laid his commands upon him, and told him that, as he was King of England, he was able to secure him from any danger, and that the Parliament should not touch one hair of his head. The Earl thanked his Majesty, but replied, that if there should fall out a difference between his Majesty and his Parliament concerning him it would be a great disturbance to his Majesty's affairs, and he had rather suffer himself than that the King's affairs should in any measure suffer by reason of his particular. The King remained unalterable in his resolution concerning Strafford's coming up to the Parliament, saying that he would want his advice in the great transactions which were like to be in this Parliament, and, in obedience to his commands, the Earl came up to London."

History cannot furnish another instance of so many adverse circumstances concurring to effect the ruin of one man as those which in that hour surrounded Strafford: Pursued by the bitter hatred of the whole nation of Scotland, whose rebellion his vigilance would have thwarted, and his bravery chastised; of the Irish nobility, whose power he had curbed, to serve the interests of the community; and, most of all, of the party at home which he had justly abandoned: misrepresented to the people of England, who had been industriously taught to consider him as the author of their imaginary afflictions; disliked by the Queen, whose influence he had always wisely opposed; and scarcely considered by his ministerial colleagues, whose envy and jealousy of his favour, since that favour was now become a source of danger, had subsided into indifference. But the grandeur of Strafford's spirit, as well as the fervour of his loyalty, was unalterable. A few early days of the Parliament having been necessarily occupied by the usual forms which attend the first meeting of those assemblies, on the eleventh of November, Mr. Pym, in a long and studied speech, enumerated the grievances of the nation, and concluded by ascribing them chiefly to the

counsels of Strafford. Other leaders of the party followed, and, as had been preconcerted, each poured forth against him the particular invective which he was thought best qualified to maintain. Scarcely a breath of opposition was heard, except in a few words from the virtuous Lord Falkland; and it was tumultuously determined that the Earl should be impeached of high treason; and Mr. Pym was ordered to state the resolution of the Commons to the Upper House, and to require that he might be placed in custody. Strafford had come down to meet the attack, and had scarcely seated himself among the Peers when his accuser entered, and preferred the impeachment, generally. The Earl was ordered to withdraw, and, having with difficulty obtained leave to utter a few words, rather in defence of the privileges of the Peerage than of himself, was committed to the Usher of the Black Rod, and shortly after, to the Tower.

The consequent proceedings against this great man are perhaps better known than any other important feature of English history. The virulent spirit of persecution and injustice by which they were conducted, and the dignified humility, and noble firmness, with which they were endured, produced so many touching circumstances which have found their way through the heart to the memory of the reader, that it would be impertinent to go into any lengthened detail of them. Among them, the horrible feeling of revenge which dictated the impeachment; the treachery and perjury of the testimony of Sir Henry Vane, who disclosed some words of obscure and uncertain import uttered by the Earl at the Council Board, and invented others; the infernal deceit of the Lord Say, who put the King on a measure to save Strafford's life which he knew would inevitably produce his destruction; the shameful artifices practised to intimidate the Crown and the Peers; and the total absence of sufficient evidence to warrant his conviction of high treason, or indeed of any other important public offence; stand prominently forward. Yet more interesting and affecting were the entire friendship and the helpless anxiety

of Charles, and the unbounded magnanimity and patience of the devoted victim: the King's promise that his life should be safe, and the Earl's exquisite letter, by which he released his Majesty of that promise, and besought him to sign the bill for his attainder; the wisdom and eloquence of his defence; the piety and philosophy of his preparation for death; and the unexampled heroism of his departure. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the twelfth of May, 1641.

Strafford's mind and heart, as will ever be those of truly great men, abounded in simplicity: It is therefore that we find so little disagreement in the reports of those who have undertaken to pourtray them. His friends have not endeavoured to conceal his faults, nor have his enemies ventured to deny his excellencies; but a candid character insists always on a candid story, and he was perhaps the only eminent statesman whom party spirit has not dared widely to misrepresent, as well in private as public capacities. "Thus fell," says Whitelock, "this noble Earl, who, for natural parts and abilities, and for improvement of knowledge by experience in the greatest affairs; for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind; hath left few behind him who may be ranked equal with him." "And thus," more largely writes Lord Clarendon, "fell the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune, that was at that time in any of the three kingdoms; who could well remember the time when he led those people who then pursued him to his grave. He was a man of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature, not unadorned with some addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other, for he had a readiness of conception and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. He was, no doubt, of great observation, and a piercing judgement, both in things and persons, but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things, for it was his misfortune to be in a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him,

and scarce any but the Lord Coventry, whose trust was more confined, whose abilities were equal to his; so that, upon the matter, he relied wholly upon himself, and, discerning many defects in most men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of all his passions his pride was most predominant; which a moderate exercise of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed, and which was by the hand of heaven strangely punished by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised, the people and Sir Henry Vane. In a word, the epitaph which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself, may not unfitly be applied to him, 'that no man did ever exceed him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies,' for his acts of both kinds were most notorious."

But Sir George Radclyffe, his kinsman, and most intimate friend and constant companion, brings us home to him in his closet and at his table, disclosing, in a curious piece which may be found in the appendix to the Strafford Papers, together with many remarks on his public conduct, the most minute circumstances of his private character and domestic life. I will add a few extracts from that large and irregular mass, and have done. Radclyffe tells us that "he loved justice for justice itself, taking great delight to free a poor man from a powerful oppressor, or to punish bold wickedness, whereof there are sundry instances to be given, both at York and in Ireland, which lost him some men's good will, which he thought better to be lost than kept upon those terms:" "he bore a particular personal affection for the King, and was always a lover of monarchy, although some that observed him in former parliaments thought not so; it is true," adds Sir George, "he was a subject, and sensible enough of the people's liberties; and he always thought they were best preserved when they went hand in hand, and maintained one another. He always disliked the abuse of royal authority to the oppression of subjects for private ends and interests; yet, it being most difficult

and hard to keep the interests of the King and people from incroaching one upon another, the longer he lived his experience taught him that it was far safer the King should increase in power than that the people should gain advantages on the King: that may turn to the prejudice of some particular sufferers, this draws with it the ruin of the whole. He was naturally exceeding cholerick, an infirmity with which he had great wrestlings: he had sundry friends that often admonished him of it, and he had the great prudence to take in good part their admonitions: nay, I can say that I, one of his most intimate friends, never gained more upon his trust and affection than by this freedom with him in telling him of his weaknesses. But amongst all his qualities none was more eminent than his friendship, wherein he did study, and delighted to excel. He never had any thing in his possession or power which he thought too dear for his friends. He was never weary to take pains for them, or to employ the utmost of his abilities in their service. No fear, trouble, or expence, deterred him from speaking or doing any thing which their occasions required." In the duties and affections of husband and father, his conduct was not to be excelled.

The Earl of Strafford was thrice married: first to Margaret Clifford, daughter of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, who died childless; secondly to Arabella, daughter of John Holles, Earl of Clare, by whom he had one son, William, his successor, and two daughters, Anne, wife of Edward Watson, Lord Rockingham, and Arabella, married to Justin Macarty, son to Donogh, Earl of Clancarty, in Ireland. His third wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes, by whom he had many children, all of whom died very young, except one daughter Margaret, who survived him.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

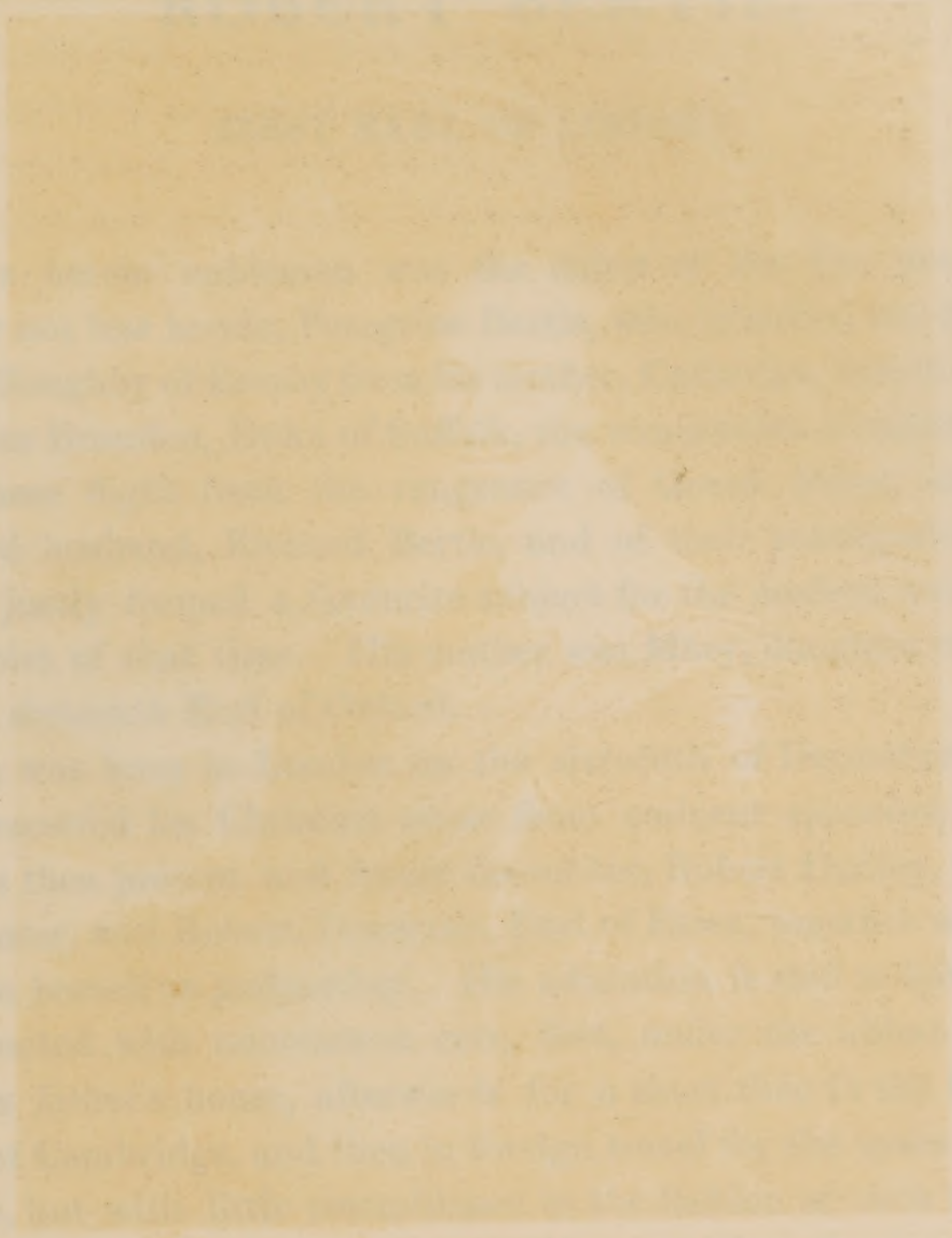
ROBERT BERTIE, EARL OF LINDSEY.

OB. 1642.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE BARONESS WILLOUGHBY OF ERESBY.

London, Published April 1, 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



ROBERT BERTIE,

FIRST EARL OF LINDSEY.

This heroic nobleman was the eldest of the five sons of a father not less heroic, Peregrine Bertie, who inherited the Barony of Willoughby of Eresby from his mother, Catherine, fourth wife to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the remarkable circumstances of whose flight from the vengeance of Queen Mary, with her second husband, Richard Bertie, and of their subsequent exile, have justly formed a favourite subject for the modern writers of memoirs of that time. His mother was Mary, daughter of John Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford.

He was born in London on the sixteenth of December, 1582, and received his Christian name from eminent sponsors, Elizabeth's then present and future favourites, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, together with the Queen herself as godmother. His education is said to have been conducted with uncommon care, first, under the ablest tutors, in his father's house, afterwards for a short time in the University of Cambridge, and then in foreign travel for the space of four years, but with little resemblance to the fashion of such tours in later days, and in a mode probably not altogether consonant to the wishes of his parents; for he had early given way to a fondness for military affairs till it assumed the form of a passion, and he seems to have lost no opportunity during his absence of observing the practice of war in all its branches. Thus he was at least a witness to all that passed in Essex's expedition to Cadiz, and, if we may believe Lloyd, who in his "Memoirs of Sufferers in the Grand Rebellion" gives some confused particulars of him, an actor also. "His great spirit," says Lloyd, "was

so impatient of delay that, when it was voted that they should set upon the town and ships, he and the Earl of Essex threw up their caps, and were so forward that he was knighted in the market place, where he said 'an old woman with a stone knocked down the Esquire, and the General commanded him to rise a knight.'" His name however does not appear in the list given by Camden of those on whom that distinction was conferred during the expedition, and indeed how much of the foregoing idle tale may be correct is uncertain.

From Cadiz he went, doubtless accompanying his gallant kinsman Sir Francis Vere, whom he had found at that place, and who just at that time left it for his command in the Low Countries. There Bertie was present in most of the actions which almost daily occurred, as he afterwards was in the sanguinary battle of Nieuport, where he was thrice unhorsed, and in which it was remarkable that of fifteen hundred English who fought there under the command of the Veres, not one escaped without a wound. In the winter of 1597 he visited at Paris Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury, the English ambassador at that Court, from whence, on his way homewards, he gratified himself by halting for a while before Amiens, then closely besieged. He soon however became weary of inactivity, and embarked with the romantic Earl of Cumberland on one of his expeditions to the Spanish West Indies, from whence returning, he soon after accompanied Lord Zouche in his embassy to Moscow, and, having seen as much of Russia as was practicable, made the tour of Denmark and Sweden, and had scarcely arrived at home when he set out on a visit to the Earl of Essex in Ireland. The death of his father had now invested him with the Peerage, and the possession of great estates; but still restless and inquisitive, he sailed early in the spring of 1602 with Monson and Levison on a predatory cruise against the Spaniards, and was present at their capture on the coast of Portugal of a galleon said to contain the value of a million of ducats.

He condescended at length to a voyage of general science and elegant enquiry, and presently after the accession of James, went for some months to Italy, after which he made one of the Earl of Nottingham's noble party in his splendid embassy to Madrid, and on his return from thence, once more indulged his favourite inclination by a short stay in the camp before Ostend, the remarkable siege of which was then at its height. He now settled finally in England. The death of his mother, which occurred about this period, produced considerations which diverted his active mind to more temperate, as well as more important objects. He was advised that he had become entitled in her right to the Earldom of Oxford, and several Baronies, as well as to the ancient hereditary place of Lord Great Chamberlain of England, all which had been for ages held by the House of Vere, and the necessarily tedious discussion of these claims terminated in the denial of the dignities, and the confirmation to him of the office. He had also lately married a lady whom he entirely loved. The honest contemplation of the dignity of his own station, of his extensive possessions, and of the untried charms of domestic life, had opened views entirely new to him; and now, had it not been for the dismal occurrences in his own country, which in the end called for the best fruits of his former military experience, he would have descended to the grave, probably after a very long life, remarkable only for unsullied honour, and uninterrupted felicity. But other distinctions awaited him, and they must too soon be mentioned.

He now retired to a country life, in which he mostly passed the remainder of this reign, with a high fame for all the qualities which are thought most to adorn a great man in that situation; but on the accession of Charles the first, by whom he had always been much esteemed, he came again to the Court, and not many months after, on the twenty-second of November, 1626, was advanced to the title of Earl of Lindsey. In 1630 he was elected a Knight of the Garter; in 1636 was appointed Lord High

Admiral of England; and, on the rising of the Scots in 1639, Governor of Berwick. Charles however designed him for a higher service when the awful occasion should occur which now began to seem inevitable, and for which himself, and his son Montague Lord Willoughby, the chief circumstances of whose excellent life will also be found in this work, had been for several months engaged in preparing their tenants and dependants. When at length no alternative was left to the King but war, he nominated the Earl of Lindsey General in chief of his forces, and in that character he attended his Majesty when he planted his standard at Nottingham on the 25th of August, 1642.

Few days even had passed when, according to the frequent ill fortune of armies, a cause of discord arose between the first and second in command. Charles had appointed his nephew, Prince Rupert, General of the Horse, and at his earnest importunity, had allowed to be inserted in his commission, which was not delivered to him till after the setting up of the standard, a clause exempting him from receiving any orders but from the King himself. This imprudent step took in fact the Horse out of the hands of the General, who became overwhelmed with chagrin, and was prevented only by the ardour of his loyalty from resigning his charge in the moment that he made the discovery. But this was not all. It presently appeared that Rupert had made himself the King's chief councellor for the conduct of the war, and that Charles, from affection, or better opinion, or submission to the Prince's rough and dogmatical manner, most frequently preferred his advice to the General's. Lindsey, as the main army of the rebels was in the neighbourhood, and it had been determined to engage it without delay, stifled for the present his resentment. The battle of Edgehill, in fact the first action of the war, speedily followed, and afforded an ample example of the mischief to be expected from the error of making Prince Rupert independent of the General, for by leading off his Horse at his

own discretion, in an imprudent pursuit early in the day, he left to the King, who in the beginning of the engagement had a fair prospect of a decided victory, the poor satisfaction of a drawn battle. At this point of time, the reserve of the rebel Horse, suddenly discovering the absence of those of the King, made a furious charge on the center of the royal infantry, in which the Earl of Lindsey, bravely fighting with the rest, received a fatal pistol shot in the thigh. The enemy instantly surrounded him, and the Lord Willoughby, who happened to be close to him when he fell, cut his way through them in a desperate hope of rescuing his father, and fell also into their hands——I will give the conclusion of this piteous tale in the words of Lord Clarendon, who has mingled with it some particulars of Lindsey's character.

"The Earl of Lindsey was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his ancestors, which, though he did not manage with so great care as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the King's army, the several companies of his own regiment of Foot being commanded by the principal knights and gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him, which made him bear that restriction so heavily which was put upon him by the commission granted to Prince Rupert; and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion in all matters relating to the war before his: nor did he conceal his resentment: the day before the battle he said to some friends, with whom he had used freedom, that he did not look upon

himself as General: and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he would be in the head of his regiment as a private colonel, where he would die."

"He was carried out of the Field to the next village, and if he could then have procured surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal: and as soon as the other army was composed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Essex about midnight sent Sir William Balfour, and some other officers, to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw, in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no surgeon having been yet with him; only he had great vivacity in his looks, and told them he was sorry to see so many gentlemen, some whereof were his old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion; and principally directed his discourse to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of the great obligations he had to the King; how much his Majesty had disobliged the whole English nation by putting him into the command of the Tower; and that it was the most odious ingratitude to him to make him that return. He wished them to tell my Lord Essex that he ought to cast himself at the King's feet to beg his pardon, which if he did not speedily do his memory would be odious to the whole nation; and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence that the officers by degrees withdrew themselves, and prevented the visit the Earl of Essex intended him, who only sent the best surgeons to him, but in the very opening of his wounds he died before the morning, only upon the loss of blood. He had very many friends, and very few enemies, and died generally lamented."

The Earl of Lindsey married Elizabeth, sole issue by the first marriage, of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton, and had by her nine sons; Montagu, his successor; Sir Roger, a Knight of the Bath; Robert, who died in infancy; Peregrine; Francis, who fell in the field in Ireland; Robert; Henry, also killed in

battle; Vere; and Edward: and four daughters; Catherine, wife of Sir William Paston, of Oxnead, in Norfolk, Bar^{t}.; Elizabeth, married to Sir Miles Stapleton, of Carlton, in Yorkshire; Anne, who died a spinster; and Sophia, wife, first of John Hewit, D.D. who was beheaded during Cromwell's usurpation; and, secondly, of Sir Abraham Shipman.

Engraved by W.T. Mote.

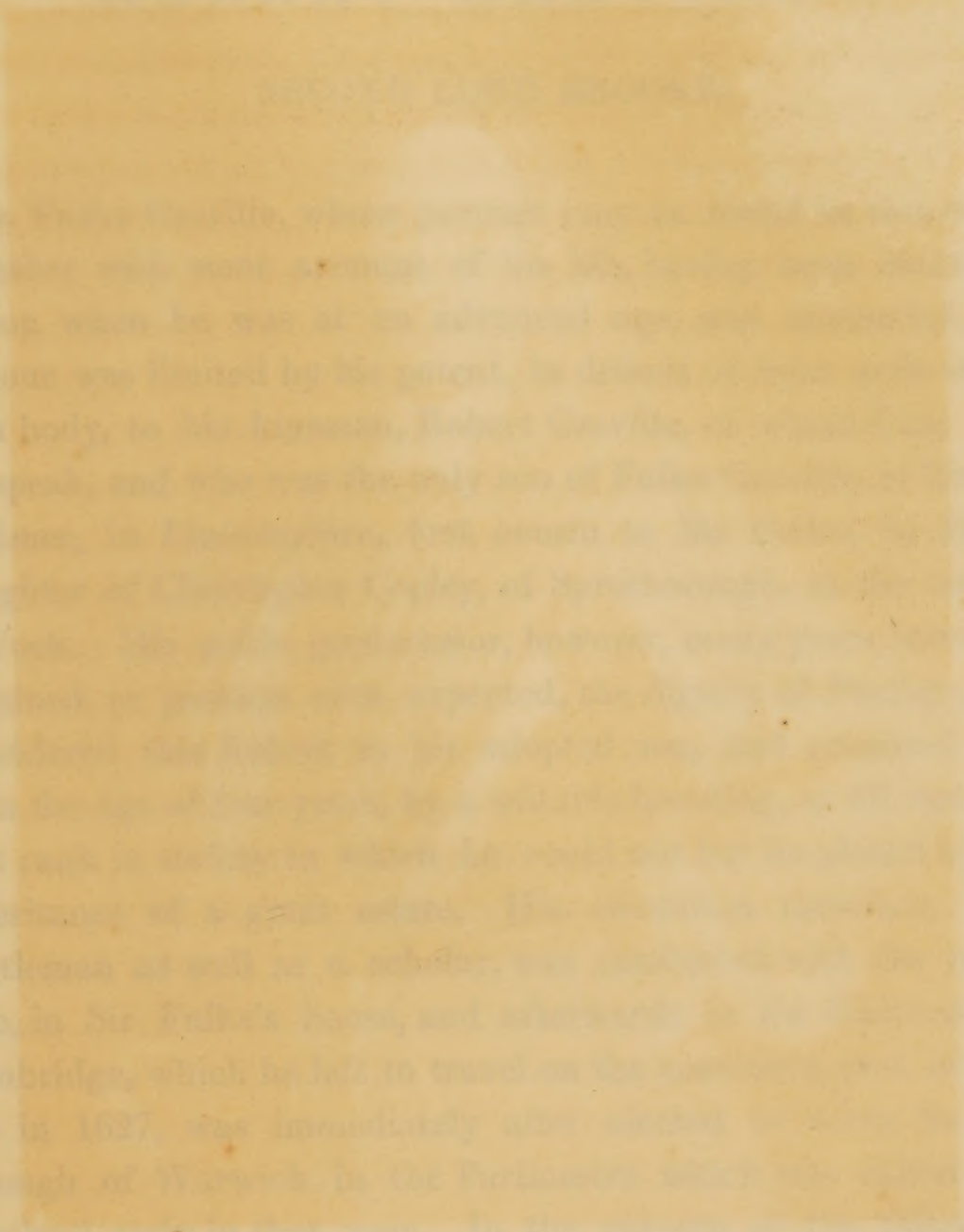
ROBERT GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE.

OB. 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF WARWICK.

London, Published July 1 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



ROBERT GREVILLE,

SECOND LORD BROOKE.

Sir Fulke Greville, whose portrait may be found in this work, together with some account of his life, having been created a Baron when he was at an advanced age, and unmarried, the honour was limited by his patent, in default of heirs male of his own body, to his kinsman, Robert Greville, of whom I am now to speak, and who was the only son of Fulke Greville, of Thorpe Latimer, in Lincolnshire, first cousin to Sir Fulke, by Mary, daughter of Christopher Copley, of Sprotborough, in the county of York. His noble predecessor, however, many years before he obtained, or perhaps even expected, the dignity of Peerage, had considered this Robert as his adopted son, and prepared him from the age of four years, by a suitable breeding, to fill worthily that rank in society in which he could not but be placed by the inheritance of a great estate. His education therefore, as a gentleman as well as a scholar, was conducted with the nicest care, in Sir Fulke's house, and afterwards in the University of Cambridge, which he left to travel on the continent, and, returning in 1627, was immediately after elected to serve for the borough of Warwick in the Parliament which was called and dissolved early in that year. In the autumn of the following, when he had barely passed the age of twenty-one, he succeeded to the Barony on the sudden and lamentable death of the first Lord, and was shortly after married to the Lady Catherine Russell, eldest daughter of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford.

It has been said that his mind became strongly tainted by puritan, and consequently republican, principles during his stay abroad; but it is little likely that his kind and careful kinsman,

who was himself a pattern of politeness as well as of loyalty, should have sent him to finish his education among the Calvinists of Germany or Switzerland. It is far more probable, as has been also asserted, that the first bias was given to his political prejudices by his father-in-law, who, partly from natural restlessness, and more from ambition, stood foremost among those who opposed the government of Charles the first in the hope of being appointed to direct his measures. Brooke, however, in whom a hot and energetic temper seems to have been joined to an upright heart, ran far beyond the intention of his teachers, who it may be reasonably supposed had forborn to entrust their real views to his youth and inexperience. He became a sincere republican, and his hatred of the Hierarchy even exceeded his enmity to the Throne. Few among the disaffected were of that character, and they therefore held the more firmly together. He attached himself peculiarly to the Viscount Say, a veteran of that small party, less pure and more malignant than himself; and, the prospect of rebellion at home being then uncertain, or at all events distant, they determined to fly together to some land of promise, where Kings and Courts should be unknown, and systems of government more at the mercy of speculators. They purchased therefore, from Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, an extensive tract of land in New England, which had been granted to him by the Crown, and in 1635 dispatched thither an agent, of the name of Fenwick, with powers and instructions to found a settlement, which succeeded so well that a town was presently built, and called, after their joint names, Saybrooke.

Before, however, it was ready for their reception the ferment of parties had arisen to such a height as to give them a fair hope of sufficient employment in their own country. They delayed their voyage from time to time, as the storm gradually gathered, and at length finally determined to abandon their project on the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion. On that unhappy occasion it is well known that Charles resolved to lead his army in

person to the borders; to summon his nobility to meet him on his way, at York, on an appointed day; and then to require them, as well as those of Scotland who were about the Court, to sign a short declaration of their loyalty and obedience, and of their abhorrence of the proceedings in that country. "Amongst the English nobility," says Lord Clarendon, "the Lord Say, and the Lord Brooke, two popular men, and most undevoted to the Church, and, in truth to the whole government, positively refused, in the King's own presence, to make any such protestation. They said if the King suspected their loyalty he might proceed against them as he thought fit, but that it was against the law to impose any oaths or protestations upon them which were not enjoined by the law; and in that respect, that they might not betray the common liberty, they would not submit to it. This administered matter of new dispute in a very unseasonable time; and, though there did not then appear more of the same mind, and they two were committed, at least restrained of their liberty, yet this discovered too much of the humour and spirit of the Court in their daily discourses upon that subject; so that the King thought it best to dismiss those two Lords, and require them to return to their houses."

The determined spirit, and the rigid candour, evinced by this refusal, highly recommended Lord Brooke to a party which just at that time stood particularly in need of bold men, with unsuspected motives. He was courted accordingly by the disaffected with unremitting assiduity, and most willingly undertook to become their leader in the House of Lords, for they placed, according to Lord Clarendon, the most entire confidence in him. In the mean time the King endeavoured to persuade him by several civil offices that his late conduct at York had not been interpreted in his disfavour; summoned him again to the great council of Peers which was held in that City in September, 1640; and appointed him one of the Commissioners for the treaty which was soon after held at Ripon with the Scots. His acceptance of

that trust, if he meant to exercise it, seems to have been the only circumstance of his life which tended to cast a doubt on his sincerity, for it afforded no alternative to him but to betray the King, or his own party, and if he engaged actively in the negotiations, a fact not ascertained by history, he certainly adopted the former course. Upon the removal of the treaty to London, on the meeting of the Long Parliament, he returned to distinguish himself in that assembly by the most bitter virulence against Laud and Strafford, and the most earnest endeavours to crush the whole fabrick of Church and State; and when the King was at length driven to the fatal necessity of taking up arms, appeared among the first to oppose the royal cause in the field, with the utmost fury of mis-directed zeal and activity.

Warwickshire, and its vicinity, in which he possessed that sort of influence which then necessarily attended the possession of large estates, was the scene of his military operations. In the summer of 1642 he received a commission from the Parliament to array the militia of that county, and of Staffordshire, and having put his fine castle into as good a state of defence as the means of the country could allow, repaired to London for a further supply of military stores, with which he had proceeded as far on his return as Edgehill, when he was met by the Earl of Northampton, who forced him to retreat to Banbury, where he was compelled by the vigilance of that nobleman to abandon his cannon, which the Earl immediately employed to besiege Warwick Castle. Brooke, however, presently procured a reinforcement, and, having gained the advantage in a hot skirmish, raised the siege, which had been with difficulty sustained for the space of a fortnight. He remained there till the autumn, when the Earl of Essex, with the main body of the rebel army, arrived in the town, on their way to attack the royalists, commanded by the King in person, whom they expected to find at Worcester. Brooke joined them, and they marched into that county, where they learned that the royal army had filed off by Shrewsbury to the borders of

Oxford and Warwickshire, and he was detached therefore again to Warwick, with directions to meet Essex, with supplies of arms and ammunition. He dispatched them accordingly, and, following the next morning, arrived at the moment when the fortune of the day had suddenly turned in favour of the rebels in the battle of Edgehill, where his own regiment had eminently distinguished itself. Essex, and his principal officers, retired with Brooke after the action to Warwick Castle, for a short repose; and thither were conducted also the principal royalist prisoners, together with their gallant and lamented general, the Earl of Lindsey, who died of his wounds within the walls, but before he could be conveyed to an apartment.

On the seventh of January, 1643, he was appointed by the Parliament General of the rebel forces in a large tract of country, described in his commission "the associated counties of Warwick and Stafford, and the parts adjacent." Warwickshire being already in a manner devoted to him, what small opposition remained there was presently subdued, and he marched, with twelve hundred men, against Lichfield, which was held by a very slender force, under the command of Lord Chesterfield. Of the events which occurred in that enterprise I will give Lord Clarendon's account in his own words; not only because it supplies some hints of Lord Brooke's character, of which little has been communicated elsewhere, but for the sake of shewing how far the noble historian was justly liable to the censure of superstition which has been so largely cast on him by an admired author of his own rank, not long since deceased, for merely mentioning in that passage some idle prejudices which a singular coincidence of circumstances had excited in the minds of others.

"Some gentlemen of that county," says Lord Clarendon, "rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seized on the Close in Lichfield for the King; a place naturally strong, and defended with a moat, and a very high and thick wall, which in the infancy

of the war was thought a good fortification. To suppress this growing force, within the limits of his association, the Lord Brooke advanced, with a formed body of horse, foot, and cannon, part drawn from the Earl of Essex's army, and the rest out of the garrisons of Coventry and Warwick, and, without any resistance, entered the city of Lichfield, which, being unfortified, was open to all comers. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged that himself lodged in a house within musquet shot of the Close, where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his chamber, and the window open, he was from the wall of the Close by a common soldier shot with a musquet in the eye, of which he instantly died, without speaking a word. There were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon St. Chad's day, (being the second day of March) by whose name, he being a Bishop shortly after the planting of christianity in this island, that church had been anciently called: and it was reported that in his prayer that very morning, for he used to pray publicly, though his chaplain were in the presence, he wished that if the cause he were in were not right and just he might be presently cut off. They who were acquainted with him believed him to be well natured, and just; and rather seduced, and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his passions or conscience swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the government of Church or State; and therefore his death was looked upon as no ill omen to peace, and was exceedingly lamented by his party, which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any man than in him."

Milton, in addressiug himself to the Parliament for "the liberty of unlicensed printing," bestows the following eulogium on the memory of this nobleman, whose practice appears to have differed so lamentably from his professions. "I shall only repeat what I have learned from one of your honourable members, who, had he not sacrificed his life and fortune to the Church and Common-

wealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye knew him I am sure; yet I, for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him—the Lord Brooke. He, writing of Episcopacy, and, by the way, treating of sects and schisms, left you his vote, or rather, now, the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with you; so full of meekness, and breathing charity, that, next to the last testament of him who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have met with words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to bear with patience and humility those, however they may be miscalled, who desire to live purely in such use of God's ordinances as the best guidance of their conscience gives them; and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the Parliament, by him who, both for his life and for his death, deserves that what advice he left should not lie by without perusal."

The book alluded to by Milton was "a Discourse, opening the Nature of that Episcopacy which is exercised in England; wherein, with all humility, are represented some considerations tending to the much desired peace, and long expected reformation, of this our Mother Church; dedicated to the most noble Lords, with the Honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, assembled in Parliament." This treatise, which was published in 1641, was not the only fruit of Lord Brooke's pen. He printed in the same year a metaphysical work, which proves that he could think with precision, and argue with force, intituled "The Nature of Truth: its Union and Unity with the Soul, which is one in its Essence—Faculties—Acts—one with Truth." Four of his speeches also remain in print: two, "spoken in the Guildhall, London, concerning his Majesty's refusal of a treaty of peace;" 1642—"An Answer to the Speech of Philip Earl of Pembroke, concerning accommodation, in the House of Lords, Dec. 19, 1642"

—and his "Speech at the Election of his Captains and Commanders at Warwick Castle," 1643.

I have already spoken of Lord Brooke's marriage. He had five sons, of whom the third and fourth, Edward and Algernon, died young, and unmarried. Francis, and Robert, the first and second, successively held the dignity, and died without male issue; and it descended at length to Fulke, the fifth son, a posthumous child, ancestor to the present Earl Brooke, and Earl of Warwick, on whose grandfather, Francis, eighth Lord Brooke, those higher dignities were conferred by his late Majesty.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

SPENCER COMPTON, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

OB. 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON.

London, Published Nov.r 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SPENCER COMPTON,

SECOND EARL OF NORTHAMPTON,

Of his family, was the only son of William, second Lord Compton, who was created Earl of Northampton in 1618, by Elizabeth, the daughter and wealthy heir of Sir John Spencer, a merchant, and Alderman of London, and was born at his father's seat of Compton Vinyates, in the County of Warwick, sometime in the month of May, 1601.

Little is known of his early life, but that it was passed without reproach amidst the luxury and gaiety of Courts. His education, or rather that part of it which he received in his own country, was completed in the University of Cambridge. Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyal Sufferers, tells us, with an almost unintelligible extravagance, that "his parts were so great, and his appetite to knowledge so large, that it was as much as four several tutors, at home, at Cambridge, and in France, and Italy, each taking his respective hour for the art and science he professed, could do to keep pace with his great proficiency." Certain it is, however, that he was a most highly accomplished gentleman, and so peculiarly distinguished for his extensive knowledge, to which probably Lloyd meant particularly to allude, of almost all the languages of Europe, that in his youth his services were generally used in the reception and audiences of foreign Ambassadors. The natural claims to royal notice which he derived from his rank, and from the constant fidelity of his family, had been perhaps somewhat forwarded by the marriage of his uncle, Sir Thomas Compton, to the mother of the Duke of Buckingham, by whom he seems to have been brought when very young to the Court, for he was chosen one of the Knights of the Bath at the

creation of Charles, Prince of Wales, in 1616, and we find him in the small party selected by the favourite to attend that Prince on his romantic journey to Madrid, where he was employed to deliver the rich presents made by his royal master to the Spanish ministers and courtiers. He was at that time Master of the Robes in the household of Charles, who, after his accession to the Throne, continued him in that honourable but insignificant office, which seems to have been bestowed on the one hand, and accepted on the other, merely because its duties afforded frequent opportunities of familiar intercourse between two persons who had now conceived for each other an intire friendship; and this is the more probable because he never condescended to hold any other.

Thus he passed many years in an honourable and dignified leisure, between the Court, where he enjoyed the unbought favour of his Sovereign, and the country, where, again says Lloyd, "he led and commanded, by the untainted reputation of his name, the moderation and sobriety of his principles, the exemplary regularity of his person and family, the justice and generosity of his dealing with his neighbours and dependants, the hospitality and alms of his house, and the sweetness of his spirit."

Such was the felicity, and such the merits, which were doomed to fall a sacrifice to party rage and popular infatuation; and such the gentle habits and manners of one in whose heart lay reserved for trying occasions the patience and perseverance of a stoic, joined to a lion's courage. From the very dawn of the civil commotions Lord Northampton supported the royal cause with the most active and unvarying zeal. He attended the King in 1639, with a great train of his dependents, against the Scottish rebels, and in the following year uniformly voted (for he was no speaker) in the House of Lords against all the violent measures which were almost daily proposed. In 1642 he was in the great council of the Peers at York, and encouraged to the utmost of

his power the declarations which they there published, in assertion of their own loyalty, of the justice of the King's motives, and of their earnest inclination to compose all differences fairly and legally. At length, the temper of the Parliament leaving no room to doubt of the final result, he hastened to his own country, and proceeded, with the coolness and promptitude of an experienced commander, to levy and arm those who were within the sphere of his influence; and, having established an association of the principal gentry of the Counties of Northampton, Stafford, and Warwick, and concerted with them a judicious scheme for the distribution of a line of garrisons, he joined Charles, immediately before the royal standard was raised at Nottingham on the twenty-fifth of August in that year, with two thousand of the most choice troops which appeared on that aweful occasion.

In the mean time the Parliament, alarmed at his activity, as well as at his power, on the thirtieth of May addressed to him a letter of mixed persuasion and menace, to which on the eighth of June he dispatched a reply so scornful that the Commons immediately proceeded to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours, but as their rage cooled, determined to prosecute that measure no further. The Earl now marched with the King towards the centre of the island, and, having fought bravely at the battle of Edgehill, and reduced presently after the Castle of Banbury, by the aid of the cannon which he had taken on his way from the Lord Brooke, assumed the command there, and made that town his head quarters. From thence he annoyed the out posts of the main body of the rebel army, under the command of the Earl of Essex, by continued excursions, and is said to have been victorious in twelve several well-fought skirmishes during that nobleman's stay at Warwick and Northampton. He followed up these successes by raising the siege of Stafford, which had been for some time closely invested by a body of the rebel troops, under the command of Sir John Gell, a country gentleman of that neighbourhood, who having been compelled to retreat, with

considerable loss, returned soon after, strongly reinforced, and posted himself in view of the town, with a presumption, too well founded, that he should tempt the gallant Earl to an attack.

On Sunday, the nineteenth of March, 1643, N. S. Northampton marched out of Stafford, and found his opponents on a small plain called Hopton Heath, about two miles from the town. It was not till then that he discovered their great superiority; but the number of his horse fell little short of those of the enemy, and he looked at his brave mounted yeomanry with a confident anticipation of victory. In two furious charges he totally cleared the field of their cavalry, with the loss to the rebels of between four and five hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners; eight pieces of cannon; and nearly all their ammunition: but after the second charge, in urging the pursuit through the main body of their foot, the Earl's horse was killed under him, and, in the confused ardour of the chase, he was left suddenly in the power of the enemy. Of the short interval which consummated and closed his services we have no account but from them into whose hands he had so unhappily fallen. Their report may surely be trusted, and it is sufficiently glorious to his memory. As soon as he had risen on his feet he killed with his own hand a colonel of infantry, who was advancing to seize him. A moment after, his helmet was beaten off by the butt end of a musket, and his features were recognised. He was told that his life should be spared; but he answered that "he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues and rebels as they were." He was immediately assailed on all sides, and, having received in the same instant a deep wound in his face, and another from a halbert on the back of his head, fell lifeless. Gell, and his second in command, Sir William Brereton, in the vulgar savageness of their triumph, refused to give up the corpse to his son, or even to permit him to send his chirurgeon to embalm it, and they carried it with them to Derby, and buried it in Allhallow's Church, in that town.

Lord Clarendon thus concludes his narration of the events

of the dear-bought success of that day. "They who had all the ensigns of victory but their General thought themselves undone; whilst the other side, who had escaped in the night, and made a hard shift to carry off his dead body with them, hardly believed they were losers. The truth is, a greater victory had been an unequal recompence for such a loss. The Earl of Northampton was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the ease, and plenty, and luxury, of that too happy time indulged to himself with that licence which was then thought necessary to great fortunes; but from the beginning of these distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. Before the standard was set up he appeared in Warwickshire against the Lord Brooke; and, as much upon his own reputation as the justice of the cause, which was not so well then understood, discountenanced, and drove him out of that county. Afterwards he took the ordnance from Banbury Castle, and brought them to the King. As soon as an army was to be raised, he levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot; and (not like some other men, who warily distributed their family to both sides; one son to serve the King, whilst his father, or another son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his children to the quarrel; having four sons officers under him, whereof three charged that day in the field: and, from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man more punctual upon command, no man more diligent and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardnesses as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger, and would often say that if he outlived these wars he was certain never to have so noble a death; so that it was not to be wondered if upon such a stroke, the body that felt it thought it had lost more than a limb."

This truly heroic nobleman married Mary, daughter of Sir

Francis Beaumont, of the family of Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, in the County of Leicester, and brother to the Countess of Buckingham, who, as has been before observed, took to her second husband the Earl's uncle, Sir Thomas Compton. They left six sons, all uncommonly and equally blessed with every virtue that could adorn private life, or add to the dignity of high birth, and all distinguished by considerable portions of historical fame. The eldest, Sir James, ancestor of the present Earl and Marquis of Northampton, and his four next brothers, Charles, William, Spencer, and Francis, knights, shone repeatedly in the field with as much lustre as their father, and better fortune; and most of them were afterwards deeply engaged, and trusted, in matters of State, and contributed largely by their talents and their firmness to the restoration of royalty. Henry, the youngest son, died Bishop of London, leaving an exalted character, both as a prelate and a man. The Earl had also two daughters; Anne, married to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, of Whitby, in the County of York; and Penelope, to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, one of the Principal Secretaries of State to the Kings Charles the first and second.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

ROBERT DORMER, EARL OF CAERNARVON.

OB. 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

London, Published Apr. 1 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

ROBERT DORMER,

FIRST EARL OF CAERNARVON.

This nobleman, of whose character and story we know but enough to excite our regret that more has not been transmitted to us, and whose few faults seem to have been recollected merely because they served as foils to his virtues, was the eldest of the three sons of William Dormer, by Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton, in Lancashire, Baronet. Sir Robert Dormer, father of that William, and descended of a family of respectable antiquity in the county of Buckingham, had been knighted by Elizabeth, and was created a Baronet by James, on the tenth of June, 1615, and on the thirtieth of the same month was raised to the Peerage, by the title of Lord Dormer of Wenge, in that county. William, who was his heir apparent, died some little time before him, and so the subject of this memoir succeeded in his youth to that Barony on the death of his grandfather in 1616. On the second of August, 1629, he was advanced by Charles the first to the dignities of Viscount Ascot, and Earl of Caernarvon.

It may be presumed that he had his education finally in the University of Oxford, since Wood, who designates him "Mercurio magnus, sed Marti major," informs us that he took there the degree of Doctor of the civil law on the first of November, 1642. He had then not long returned from foreign travel, which, as we shall see presently, his curiosity had extended beyond the continent of Europe. It has been said that he brought home with him to a country, then of morals and manners comparatively pure, some disposition to excesses in our time almost invariably to be expected in the conduct of young men of his rank, and of great possessions; but David Lloyd, the biographer, on whose authority

this report seems wholly to rest, particularizes no charge except of an inclination to gaming, and adds that he " hated drunkenness perfectly." It is said too that he was attached to field sports, even to extravagance, and that King James therefore placed him in the office of chief Avenor to the Crown, which was settled on him and his heirs by letters patent, and was the only civil appointment ever held by him.

Thus passed the earlier years of his life, and we hear nothing further of him till the contest between Charles the first and his Parliament assumed a truly formidable aspect. It seems to have been on the question of Strafford's impeachment that he first manifested without hesitation the party in public affairs which he proposed to espouse by using his utmost endeavours to save that great person. When the Buckinghamshire men were soon after incited to insurrection by Hampden and others, and in January, 1642, came to London, to the amount of many thousands, to present seditious petitions to the King and the two Houses of Parliament, he hurried into that county, where his great estates chiefly lay, to attempt to restore order, and to concert with the most eminent loyalists there the means of raising and arming forces, and of making other preparations for the approaching crisis. These duties performed, he attended Charles to York, with the great body of Peers who were still faithful to him, where he signed with them the famous declaration of the fifteenth of June following, and, after the King set up his standard at Nottingham, joined him, with a body of two thousand men, levied and equipped at his own charge. As soon as the rebellion had assumed a regular form, the Parliament, in its instructions to its General, the Earl of Essex, did him the honour to except him by name, with a few other great persons, from pardon.

There were few actions of importance within the short period to which Providence confined his service in which he was not engaged with a zeal and activity that rendered him the darling of the army. His very errors added to his fame; as in the battle of

Edgehill, where he commanded a strong squadron under Prince Rupert, and, in too eager a pursuit of a body of the rebel horse, left his infantry exposed to peril from which they were with difficulty rescued. He marched from thence into the west, where he joined the army under the command of the Marquis of Hertford, in which he was appointed General of the Horse, and, having gained signal credit in the battle of Stratton, proceeded to Wells, near a village in the vicinity of which city, called Chewton, says Lord Clarendon, " the Earl of Caernarvon, who always charged home, with an incomparable gallantry charged the enemy, and pressed them so hard, that he routed the whole body of their Horse, and followed the execution of them above two miles." Here again his ardour outstript his prudence, for he had unawares followed the chase into the enemy's quarters, and found himself suddenly faced by a very superior body of Sir William Waller's dragoons, and was in his turn obliged to retreat in some confusion. Fortunately Prince Maurice, who, with his regiment, served in the same army, was near enough to receive speedily news of the Earl's danger, and, coming just in time to his assistance, made a vigorous charge on the pursuers, a part of whom, that were unemployed, wheeled about and attacked his rear. The Prince, wounded and unhorsed, was now in great danger, when Caernarvon, who had been thus enabled to rally his men, returned to the charge, rescued him, and, joining Maurice's troops, again attacked the rebels, and drove them before him, in utter disorder, till night closed the pursuit.

These errors of unripe experience and superabundant courage were amply atoned for in the battle of Roundway Down, which speedily followed, and in which, having arrived almost alone and by chance, he served as a volunteer in sir John Byron's regiment, the command of which was however left to his charge. Here, by a judicious, though somewhat novel, arrangement of his force, joined to a consummate gallantry, he had a conspicuous share in gaining the very important victory which ensued, after which he

was dispatched with his horse towards Dorchester, a town notoriously disaffected, and fortified by the rebels. Such however was the fame of his prowess, added to the panic infused into the garrison by a Mr. Strode, a man of considerable estate in the neighbourhood, and equally cowardly and disloyal, who in a late visit to it had extravagantly magnified the exploits of the royal army, that it surrendered at discretion, without receiving a shot. Weymouth and Portland followed the example, and the whole of that country would have been reduced to obedience, had not Prince Maurice, who now arrived with the infantry, loitered for some days about Dorchester and Weymouth, instead of joining the Earl in pursuing the great advantages which he had already gained. " Here," again says Lord Clarendon, " the soldiers, taking advantage of the famous malignity of those places, used great licence; neither was there care taken to observe those articles which the Earl of Caernarvon, who was full of honour and justice upon all contracts, took so ill that he quitted the command he had with those forces, and returned to the King before Gloucester."—Unhappy return—He had scarcely arrived there when Charles was compelled by the dexterity of Essex to raise the siege of that town, and marched with his whole army towards London. The battle of Newbury, in which fell so many noble props to Charles's cause, and ornaments to his Court, immediately followed. There, on the twentieth of September, 1643, the gallant Earl, after he had charged and routed a body of the rebel Horse, Essex's life guard, coming carelessly back, near some of the scattered troopers, one of them, who knew his person, ran him through the body with a sword, and within an hour he expired.

It is said that, in the short interval in which after receiving his wound he had the power to speak, he inquired eagerly whether the King was in safety; and that a nobleman, his friend, who was attending on him, inquired whether he could convey any final request from him to his Majesty; to which he answered, " I will not die with a suit in my mouth to any King

save to the King of Heaven." We are told too that, being solicited by his most unworthy father-in-law to abandon the royal cause, he only replied sternly " leave me to my honour and to my allegiance." Such reports derive additional credit from the tribute to his memory which Lord Clarendon has left to us.

" He was a person," says the noble historian, " with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more nations than our common travellers use to visit (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey, and those eastern countries), he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like, in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles begun, having the command of the first or second regiment of Horse that was raised for the King's service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a soldier; no man more diligently obeying, or more dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in exposing his person, but an excellent discerner and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy. He had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities, and that licence, which he had formerly indulged to himself he put off with severity when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice, and practised it then most deliberately when he had a power to do wrong; and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the west when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement which he had made with Dorchester and Weymouth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profession, and an excellent soldier; and by his death the King found a sensible weakness in his army."

ROBERT DORMER, FIRST EARL OF CAERNARVON.

This nobleman married Anne Sophia, eldest daughter of Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, by whom he left an only child, Charles, his successor, who dying without male issue, the Earldom became extinct, and the Barony devolved on a distant kinsman, in whose posterity it remains.